

JPRS 75788

30 May 1980

Latin America Report

No. 2152



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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30 May 1980

LATIN AMERICA REPORT

No. 2152

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INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

GUATEMALAN GOVERNMENT DENIES INVOLVEMENT IN EL SALVADOR

Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 29 Apr 80 p 12

[Text] The government yesterday issued a press release through the Foreign Ministry rejecting and denying the news reports made public by a number of foreign agencies to the effect that Guatemalan troops were sent to El Salvador to battle guerrillas there.

According to the cables from San Salvador, political leader Juan Martiel, a spokesman of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), a powerful antigovernment coalition, stated that: "Forty men from the Guatemalan Army's counterintelligence service, who are also members of the Central American Defense Council (CONDECA), are in the western part of El Salvador hunting down leftist guerrillas."

The FRN [Revolutionary Nicaraguan Front]

The press release mentions the formation of the Revolutionary Nicaraguan Front, indicating that authorities cannot allow this to happen, because it would jeopardize good relations with Nicaragua and is prohibited by the nation's constitution as well as by international treaties and agreements.

With regard to the news published last week by the mass media to the effect that the FRN, whose purpose is to aid Nicaragua's recovery, is being formed here, the government pointed out its unwavering, traditional position of complying with Article 61 of the nation's constitution.

This article recognizes the right of asylum and grants it to those under political persecution who claim it, as long as they respect the sovereignty and laws of Guatemala.

"The Guatemalan Government holds the same position," the release indicates, "with regard to the regulations of international law governing the humanitarian institution of asylum, which empower Guatemalan authorities to not allow political refugees to commit acts that are breaches of the public peace in this country or in third party states."

The press release reaffirms the principles of the "25 July 1979 Declaration of Central American Brotherhood" in the sense of keeping national borders open to all honest and responsible Central Americans, as long as they fulfill the obligations that Guatemalan law imposes on them.

The organization or operation of militias outside the Guatemalan Army is a punishable offense under the last paragraph of Article 215 of the constitution.

Alleged Troops

The press release also says that the government roundly and categorically rejects and denies the news reports issued by certain international agencies to the effect that Guatemalan troops were sent to El Salvador to help keep subversion under control.

"The government," it adds, "once again asserts its determination to uphold the principle of nonintervention in the domestic or foreign affairs of other states. This is the basis of the government's foreign policy and has prevented Guatemala from becoming involved in the serious problems of other countries. It is a decisive and important contribution to maintaining peace at home, as well."

On the 25th of this month, the release concludes, Foreign Relations Minister Rafael Castillo Valdez invited in the heads of mission of our sister republics of El Salvador and Nicaragua to explain to them the various issues broached in the press release.

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CSO: 3010

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

CUBA'S POSITION IN WORLD VIEWED BY GUATEMALAN PRESS

Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 29 Apr 80 pp 10, 14

[Article by Baltasar Morales de la Cruz]

[Text] It has been our misfortune on the American continent to have the thorn of Fidel Castro piercing our side for more than a quarter of a century now. He is now facing one of his biggest crises, the shocking and unheard-of affair involving the occupation of the Peruvian Embassy in Havana, the unprecedented exodus of Cubans and the outrageous violations of the right of asylum and other principles of international law. We have had crises of equal magnitude before when the Soviet missiles threatened the United States and when "Che" Guevara was in the midst of his unlucky adventure in South America. In addition to these incidents, the continent has been constantly harassed by Cuba.

I therefore thought that it might be interesting to offer readers a brief outline of the criticism leveled against Cuba's position in various regions of the world, beginning with the stand that the country took at the United Nations. Even for the unbelievers and those eager for accommodation, this incident confirmed that Cuba was absolutely subordinate to, rather than allied with the Soviet Union. Here is a brief outline of the Cuban-Soviet relationship that we are talking about:

Cuba voted in the United Nations to support the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This demonstrated once again that it is a submissive servant of the USSR and to a large extent undermined its controversial role in the movement of nonaligned nations. Furthermore, Cuba will likely cease to earn hard currency revenue from its trade with Third World nations.

Cuba once again demonstrated its total identification with Soviet foreign policy by voting in January, along with 18 Soviet bloc countries and allies, against a UN General Assembly resolution calling for "the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of all foreign troops currently in Afghanistan." This resolution was

supported by 104 member states. As a direct result of its open support for Soviet aggression against a charter member of the nonaligned movement, Cuba lost its struggle for a seat on the UN Security Council. The seat, for which Cuba had battled strenuously, was ultimately awarded to Mexico. Cuba's stand has also jeopardized Fidel Castro's role as president of the coordinating board of the nonaligned movement.

Cuba's interest in Afghanistan dates back to early 1978, when former Afghan President Mohammed Daoud, on a trip to Yugoslavia, Egypt, India, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, personally campaigned against the Cuban leadership of the movement. Shortly thereafter, Daoud was overthrown and killed in a coup d'etat staged in April 1978 by the Khalq faction of the Afghan Communist Party with the backing of the Soviet Union. A foreign ministers' meeting to prepare for the sixth summit conference of the nonaligned movement, which was scheduled for May in Kabul, was later transferred to Havana, and thus ended Afghanistan's opposition to Cuban leadership of the nonaligned movement.

Several Arab leaders have underscored the parallel between the overthrow of Daoud in 1978 (as well as the assassination of Afghan President Hafizullah Amin by the Soviets last December) and Cuban complicity in the death of South Yemen President Salim Robaye Ali in the spring of 1978. Ali was replaced by Sovietized officials. He had fallen into disgrace in Moscow because, like Daoud, he had been trying to pursue an independent foreign policy of nonalignment with any power.

The Islamic conference of foreign relations ministers, held in late January in Islamabad, Pakistan, vigorously condemned Soviet "military aggression," backed by Cuba, against Afghanistan. The representatives of 35 Muslim nations called for a break in relations with and aid to the puppet regime of Babrak Karmal. The resolution, worded in much harsher terms than the UN General Assembly's, was even backed by Libya and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), both of which are armed by the Soviets.

A campaign is currently underway, supported by nonaligned Muslim and African nations, to force Fidel Castro to call a special meeting of the coordinating board to discuss the Afghanistan issue. So far, Castro has not heeded the demand, even though last autumn he called a special session of the board to take up charges of "imperialist" meddling in the Marxist government of Grenada, which Cuba supports.

In addition to losing political influence with the Muslim countries, influence that it had earned in the past by enthusiastically supporting "anti-Zionist" initiatives, Cuba's stand on Afghanistan threatens to generate serious economic repercussions. Cuba's sugar exports to

Arab nations currently account for one-third of its total hard currency earnings. Moreover, Cuba's service contracts with Iraq, Libya and Algeria are a mounting source of much needed foreign exchange. Any drop in these earnings could further damage the tattered Cuban economy.

It would seem unlikely that the USSR, which itself is suffering from a serious shortage of the hard currency that it needs to import grain and advanced technology from the West, can boost its hard currency subsidies for Cuba. Soviet aid and trade subsidies to the Caribbean island cost them more than \$8 million a day. Moreover, in 1979 the USSR lost out on \$1.5 billion in hard currency earnings because of its trade subsidies for Cuba.

There is little chance that Havana will withdraw its support of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, even though it would like to salvage the little that remains of its influence in the Third World. The Soviets put economic pressure on Castro in 1968 to back the military intervention of the Warsaw Pact member states in Czechoslovakia. Today, Moscow is in an even stronger position to exert similar pressure on Havana.

The Greek daily *ELEFTHEROS KOSMOS* keenly observed that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has been the harshest blow dealt to the leftist wing of the nonaligned nations movement, a wing that had gained a certain degree of prominence prior to the conference of these nations' chiefs of state. Indeed, the only nations that have refused to condemn the Soviet action are the ones regarded as really close allies of the USSR, such as Vietnam and South Yemen, and of course, Cuba, whose case is made more serious by its obligations as "leader" of the nonaligned movement, a role that it gained thanks to Soviet influence at the September 1978 meeting. So far, Cuba has found a way to avoid censure by the organization. However, the situation has now been complicated by Somalia's demand that the Soviet Union withdraw its troops not only from Afghanistan but also from the territories in the Horn of Africa. Fidel is also about to be overwhelmed by the campaign to declare the nonaligned movement's total and absolute independence.

One would think that all of this, which would be crushing to a politician with less of a commitment, would be enough for Fidel to right his course, but the opposite has happened, and with each episode the commitment deepens. There seems no way to reverse it. *THE ECONOMIST* of London also recalls Cuba's enthusiastic support for the invasion and occupation of Cambodia, another nonaligned nation, even though this onslaught too was roundly condemned by the Third World.

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

VENEZUELAN LOAN TO GUATEMALA--The Guatemalan Government will accept a loan of about 44 million quetzals that the government of Venezuela is offering. The loan is for the National Electrification Institute (INDE) to be used in a hydroelectric project, disclosed Minister of Public Finance Hugo Tulio Bucaro. To officially accept the loan, Bucaro added, the second deputy-minister for finance, Juan Enrique Betancourt, left for Caracas, Venezuela. The loan, Bucaro said, comes from Venezuela's investment fund and will be granted at 7.8 percent interest. [Text] [Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 22 Mar 80 p 6] 9545

CSO: 3010

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST OPPOSITION PAPER BEGUN

Guatemala City EL IMPARCIAL in Spanish 21 Mar 80 pp 1, 14

[Text] The Supreme Court of Belize has rejected all the demands and challenges presented by the opposition of that Guatemalan territory against the elections of last November, considered to have been rigged and fraudulent, and the court, violating the principle of free speech, has taken legal action against the publisher of the opposition paper, THE REPORTER.

In view of this development and in defense of freedom of the press, a special committee has been formed to oversee the observance of this principle. On this point, the opposition press in Belize has published the following commentary:

People of Belize Are Defending Themselves Against Attacks on Freedom of Speech

For all the people of Belize, with the exception of members of the PUP [United People's Party], who rigged the elections in order to continue governing the territory, the elections of 21 November 1979 were replete with tortuous procedures that were denounced by the press, including false voter registrations in the electoral register, phantom voters, chemical treatment of ballots to eliminate the marks made on them by opposition voters, bribery of voters to repeat their votes in other districts, delivery of ballot boxes--after the elections--at unauthorized sites, etc. These abuses and irregularities of various kinds led to the presentation of several petitions to the Supreme Court of Belize with charges and a request for new elections.

At the end of the period set for a decision, the court rejected all the demands, bringing about a reaction by the public--which had hoped that the high tribunal would pronounce justly and energetically against the aforementioned cases--of discouragement and disappointment that was expressed in articles and letters by contributors and readers of the information media.

Despite the lack of sanctions for the serious infractions that were committed, popular criticism was rather moderate and did not reflect the intensity of

civic indignation toward the farce that was consummated. This was the way a "mother of four" expressed it in THE REPORTER of last 27 January in the Letters to the Editor section. The writer commented that "our court appears to be acting strangely. It has certainly disillusioned many good and worthy citizens, approximately half the country, who trusted in the capability of the court to accept a petition on the elections and intervene to correct a fraud."

Despite the temperate language of the letter, it was a manifesto in a press organ opposed to the government, and in order to intimidate these voices, the commentary was given the character of contempt of court. For this crime, the public prosecutor of Belize, S. C. Crocete-Tambiah, brought charges against Harry Lawrence, publisher of THE REPORTER.

Following a comment by AMANDALA, a weekly that usually shows progovernment tendencies, that the fine (equivalent to 100 quetzales) the judge imposed on Lawrence as a result of the trial last 18 February was mild, on the 5th of this month another suit was brought against Publisher Lawrence in the Supreme Court before Judge George Hoo by Ray Lightburn, this time for libel, on the pretext that an article published in THE REPORTER on the stabbing of Bobby Smith in December 1977, was defamatory to his reputation. When it was learned that Smith was ready to give testimony at the trial, the prosecuting attorney, claiming his client was in poor health, requested that the trial be postponed. However, before agreeing to the requested 2-week adjournment, the judge consented to hear Smith's deposition. The latter stated that upon being attacked by knife-wielding assailants, he had clearly identified Ray Lightburn among the attackers who fled.

This situation led to the formation of a committee of "citizens for freedom of the press" in Belize the first week of this month. According to THE REPORTER of 9 March, the group proposes to "closely watch any and all acts in Belize that the committee interprets as interference in the democratic rights of a free press and to protest against such interferences as soon as they occur." The committee has established a campaign fund which will be used to support judicial actions and it has invited all the people of Belize to contribute generously. Contributions should be sent to Freedom House, Box 778, Belize City, or delivered to Linda Tillett, 18 King Street, Belize City.

Among the founding members of the committee, THE REPORTER mentions Miss E. Fraser and Messrs Eddie Laing and Lawrence Young.

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CENTRAL AMERICAN CRISIS EFFECTS ANALYZED

Country Affected

San Jose LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 13 Mar 80 p 18

[Editorial: "Costa Rica and the Central American Political Crisis"]

[Text] The news media report daily on the social and political problems that affect several countries of the Central American isthmus. The ingredients making up this crisis, according to what is affirmed, appear to be inadequate distribution of wealth, which has alienated large sections of the population, and all this is aggravated by world inflation. And what makes it even more serious is the decision of international communism to take advantage of these phenomena to attack and seize political power.

A study done by the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) published last 14 February concludes that the present political situation in several Central American countries has been caused by inflation and a decline in income. The document states that real income in the Central American region over the past 5 years dropped by as much as 50 percent, causing social crises.

One hears opinions more and more frequently that as a result of this crisis, one or another country of the area will fall to the communist system, and that if this happens, Costa Rica will quickly be drawn into that form of political organization. We do not know whether those who express such opinions do so in obedience to an overall strategy directed by the communists for the purpose of creating a collective neurosis, or whether they do so in good faith, convinced by what they observe happening in neighboring countries. In our opinion, this type of thinking reveals twisted aim or ignorance of Costa Rica and does serious harm. Costa Rica is tied to the other Central American countries by common origins, strong bonds of friendship, and, more recently, treaties of economic integration, in addition to its geographic location. But this does not mean that the fate of our country, in all its aspects, is inevitable and fatally linked with the destiny of the rest of the countries of the region. History itself confirms that while these nations have been governed by their armies, Costa Rica has forged and lived by an authentic civilian democracy. While in other countries the concentration

of wealth in a few has been a common characteristic, this phenomenon has not occurred to the same degree here. Costa Ricans have made of their country a sanctuary of freedom and the rights of man, something which has not happened in other countries. As a consequence, we cannot accept the idea, as some would have us do, of a transformation of our system just because of the incidence of that transformation in other countries. It would be equally absurd to hold that if Italy, France, or any other neighboring nation were to regress toward communism, that Switzerland would unavoidably fall into that system.

To think that Costa Rica is not vulnerable to the inroads of international communism would be illusory. But this does not mean that we would be obliged to adopt systems of government from other countries merely because of geographical location.

Before assuming defeatist positions, we Costa Ricans should strive with all our might to produce more, and in this way improve the way of life for everyone who has the privilege of living in this country. We must commit our work and our intelligence to the task of strengthening the institution of the democratic system which we have inherited, and if it becomes necessary to review and modify some of the mechanisms this system is built on, let us do so with patriotism. Let us guard our sovereignty with energy and demand that it be respected, but at the same time let us respect the principle of nonintervention in the affairs of other nations.

Trade Affected

San Jose LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 21 Mar 60 p 2

[Editorial: "Costa Rica and Central America"]

[Text] The explosive situation in El Salvador presents a serious dilemma to Costa Rican industry since payments for the large volume of exports to that country are frozen by the Salvadoran Central Bank, if we speak of payment by normal means.

In less than a year--the same thing happened with Nicaragua--Costa Rican businessmen have been subjected to the vicissitudes being suffered by other nations, which have serious repercussions on our development.

There are government officials who, without regard for either the consequences or the precedents, point to trade with Central America as a negative factor for Costa Rican industry.

But the detractors do not remember that when Central America was at peace, in a normal state, the balance of trade was favorable for Costa Rica.

Neither the government of our country nor, of course, the businessmen are participants in any of the changes being observed in the nations of the isthmus. Nevertheless, the effects of that evolutionary political process have an obvious and negative effect on Costa Rican development.

It will take Nicaragua a long time to return to normal productive and exporting levels, and in El Salvador a trade paralysis has now set in with no prospects for solution in the near future.

In the face of all this, the businessman of Costa Rica will have to pick his way through a great many difficulties in the Common Market and of course reiterate to our own officials the reasons for an unfavorable regional trade situation.

Without going into a detailed explanation, it is obvious that the problems of the area directly affect our country. A crisis has begun with no end in sight. It represents a depression in consumption and in activity in the nations that are convulsed, something akin to starting all over again in many of the tasks concerned with development and achievement.

Costa Rica's problem in its trade relations with the isthmus does not revolve solely on this point. It also exists in social relations, where we Costa Ricans are quite a distance out front.

For example, they are at present talking in Guatemala about a wage adjustment, and industry in that country has announced that it will not accept an increase in fringe benefits nor, naturally, the raises demanded for the workers. And it is well to remember--in a comparison with Costa Rica--that the Guatemalan wage hikes being requested would give the coffee worker 23 Costa Rican colons a day, while in our country the daily wage is double that amount in this and other activities.

The reality is that Costa Rica surpasses the Central American nations in wages, which are double those offered in each of the countries that compete in the Central American Common Market. But in addition, we have ample social security, retirement pensions at 57 years of age, the Popular Bank, INA (National Apprenticeship Institute), Community Development (DINADECO), industrial accident insurance, family allowances, etc. These are of course deductions which businesses withhold from wages.

And there is more. There is the curious case of the INA whose support comes precisely from industry although the industrialists are not even permitted to guide the training policy of that semiofficial entity. INA produces specialists at the whim of its directors and without considering the real needs of the country.

Struggling against adverse conditions, the Costa Rican industrialist, with unquenchable faith and a patriotic spirit worthy of the highest praise, faces the problems of the region and the lack of comprehension by the government, where some high officials inexplicably express doubts on the will to fight for a better Costa Rica that is demonstrated daily.

The Costa Rican businessman understands better than anyone that a democratic society is not a group of rigid rules but a live organism whose social metamorphosis is constantly being produced. Sometimes this process accelerates and at other stages it stops or retreats.

Thus business, through the Chamber of Industries, has come forth with a positive statement on the wage adjustment that is being mentioned at present in the face of rising prices of basic commodities. Costa Rican businessmen have a very definite and clear view of a peaceful future and common achievement by all the citizens of Costa Rica.

The master plan for the nation of tomorrow is found in the innermost recesses of the community's life today, which in turn takes over from and substitutes for the nation of yesterday.

Business, which constitutes a decisive part of our democratic Costa Rica, has accepted the challenge of that considerable metamorphosis, endeavoring to maintain the principles it considers essential to preserve the freedom of thought that inspires civilized coexistence.

But it is obvious that the democratic "model society" of 1960 is not that of 1930 and that numerous concepts, methods, formulas, and plans governing relationships 30 years ago have been inexorably overtaken by new circumstances and the prospects that are open for a change in outlook.

Industry only asks that the exact size of our capabilities and prospects be established so that those who are tenaciously carrying out their tasks to gain a happy future for Costa Rica may not be unnecessarily harassed.

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C80: 3010

COSTA RICAN JOURNALIST SEES NO COMMUNISM IN NICARAGUA

PA151725 San Jose Radio Noticias del Continente in Spanish 0100 GMT 15 May 80

[Text] Jorge Sunol, head of the editorial staff of the San Jose newspaper LA NACION, has said in a series of articles that there is no communism in Revolutionary Nicaragua but that the possibility that it could exist there in the future must not be ruled out.

Sunol does not exclude completely the possibility that this ideology will penetrate into this sister republic some day but adds that this cannot be predicted in regard to Costa Rica or any other country in the world either.

Among the events which tend to confuse world public opinion in that regard are Nicaragua's participation in the nonaligned movement, its close ties with the socialist camp, its solidarity with Cuba and its support for the Puerto Rican independence movement because, the journalist says, up to the Sandinist victory the only position known was the conditioned [de condicionamiento] Somocist position.

The Costa Rican newsmen says in another paragraph of the fourth and last article of the series that it is important not to forget that the Sandinists had never been in power before and that for this reason they had to turn to Costa Rica in search, for instance, of advice in the immigration field, the same way Commander Tomas Borge is asking for assistance in connection with the municipal elections scheduled for 1981 and the national elections slated for 1982 and 1983.

Sunol (stresses) that the historic and political situations of Costa Rica and Nicaragua are quite different and, for this reason, a democracy of the Costa Rican type should not be aspired to over the short run.

The head of the editorial section of LA NACION says that, despite the huge amount of propaganda against the Sandinist revolution and the Nicaraguan people, Sandino's followers destroyed the Somocist army, created their own army and are now changing the state's structure.

Sunol explains that there is a strong nationalist feeling in Nicaragua, which does not exclude anti-U.S. feelings for historic reasons, and that

this is useful to the Marxists. However, this usefulness will depend to a great extent on the U.S. and Western attitudes regarding Nicaragua.

Sunol concluded by stating that victory was made possible by the sacrifice of the entire Nicaraguan people, including the Sandinists, the young students, the entrepreneurs and the noncorrupt political parties.

CSO: 3010

MOVEMENT DEFENDS CUBA IN FACE OF ANTI-CUBAN CAMPAIGN

PA101752 San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 1 May 80 p 9A

[Paid advertisement by the Peoples Revolutionary Movement: "The Truth About Cuba"--passage within elenlinea published in upper case]

[Text] In the past few days, the Costa Rican people have witnessed one of the most intense and systematic campaigns ever launched in our country.

The purpose of that campaign is evident: To hit the revolutionary people and government of Cuba.

On the basis of a real fact, fully acknowledged by the Cuban Government--there still are people who disagree with socialism--a calculated campaign has been orchestrated trying to depict Cuba as a kingdom of slavery and starvation.

Nothing is further removed from the truth.

Cuba is a country of 10 million inhabitants, whose people overthrew the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in 1959 after several years of heroic struggle, thus seizing power from the big native and foreign millionaires, particularly Americans, who had turned the island into a big whorehouse and into a giant sugar cane plantation where the working people were paid miserly wages.

The triumphant revolution of 1959 found an economically ruined country and a people besieged by starvation, unemployment, malnutrition, illiteracy, ignorance and a lack of land and freedom.

From the beginning it was understood that in order to definitely resolve these problems a profound and true revolution, not a half-done one, would be necessary. Awareness existed that this was a gigantic task, it was a matter of building a happy, working, socialist society 93 miles from the principal enemy of socialism, the United States. It was known from the start that this task would require many years; the heritage of a century of colonialism and economic dependence could not be changed in a short period of time.

The brutal economic blockade sponsored by the United States and endorsed by the rest of the Latin American countries, with the sole exception of Mexico, has made that gigantic task even harder.

Despite all these obstacles, Socialist Cuba has been advancing in all areas. The fact that it is acknowledged that Cuba has one of the best developed health systems in the world, enabling it to have the lowest infant-mortality rates in America, constitutes tangible evidence of this advance.

Cuba has eliminated illiteracy. Today there are equal opportunities to study; there is no unemployment; big steps have been taken to resolve the housing problem; the peasants have land to cultivate. Are there still difficulties? Yes, there still are; but they are being overcome each day, and the Cuban people, the true people, trust in this fully.

Of its 10 million people, only a very small fraction does not agree with the idea of working to construct a truly just and democratic society. Those who sought refuge in the Peruvian Embassy represent a large part of these people. Nonetheless, efforts have been made to present a distorted image, announcing that there are thousands upon thousands of dissidents and that the Cuban people are against their revolution. The Cuban Government itself, through its consulate in our country, has offered facilities to the Costa Rican press so its members can visit Havana to report on the Cuban reality.

The Cuban people want to continue moving ahead, constructing their socialist fatherland and they want those who disagree to leave, in order not to hinder the march toward the future. That is why the Cuban Government for a very long time has maintained an emigration policy in accordance with the people's feeling.

Cuba has not closed the exit doors. Those who have closed the entrance doors include, above all, the United States. Today Cuba is even suggesting the possibility that camareroa might be repeated, that is, the departure of those wishing to leave for the United States may be facilitated from a point in Cuba.

That is why 1.5 million Cubans marched for 13 hours on 19 April, telling the group inside the Peruvian Embassy "go away, go away," and why they raised their fist high to tell Carter and the U.S. generals who have planned a new act of aggression, /remember the Giron beach defeat/.

CSO: 3010

COSTA RICA

PRESIDENT CARAZO HAILS FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 23 Apr 80 p 4A

[Text] "If it is indeed true that foreign investment is not a panacea that will extricate us from underdevelopment, still, it is a positive instrument which contributes to our development," Rodrigo Carazo Odio, president of the republic, has said.

The president made this observation yesterday at the inauguration ceremony of the industrial installations in Pavaa of the S. C. Johnson of Central America company, which produces a number of cleaning materials exported to Central America.

Carazo stated that in allowing and encouraging foreign investment an effort is being made to improve conditions for our population; he also recalled that our country has a free economy in which "fortunately it is possible for everyone to work toward increased production."

The president said that we are a nation which has always been open to every contact with the entire world.

"We have had constant immigration. The immigrant has found in our country fertile soil for his work. Persons from the most diverse origins have come to our country. Here the prerequisite for advancement is effort, and getting along together comes about as a result of everyone's good will and faith," he asserted.

Carazo added that in our country everyone is allowed to express their feelings and beliefs. "It is for this reason that we open ourselves to any kind of immigration which will produce the good results we hope for."

The president said that Costa Rica is a country which permits free investment, as well as encourages it, with the hope of increasing production and achieving substantial material economic progress which will lead to social improvement.

"We Costa Ricans," Carazo said, "are proud that we allow enterprises and persons from all over to pitch camp, work the land and produce. In the climate we want--one of harmony in the fullest sense of the word--we are proud that our production is developing with contributions from all the nations of the world."

Johnson

S. C. Johnson is an enterprise which was established in our country about 10 years ago and in expanding its industrial plant it found itself in need of having its own building, which was inaugurated yesterday by President Carazo.

Johnson's main factory is in the United States. The enterprise has 44 branches all over the world with almost 13,000 employees.

Raymond Farley, executive vice president for operations of S. C. Johnson, International, stated that the branch in our country is small since it has only 41 employees, but that it is expected to become a model for development.

Johnson produces waxes, polishes for floors and furniture, aerosol deodorizers, insecticides and industrial cleaning products.

9204

CSO: 3010

VESCO CITIZENSHIP COURT CASE CONTINUES

San Jose LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 22 Apr 80 p 9

[Text] The Second Court of Administrative Law and Civil Finances has heard the defense of the National Attorney General's Office in the case of the suit filed against the State and the Supreme Electoral Tribunal by the American Robert Vesco Sasek.

Lawyers of Vesco Sasek, the international financier, have appealed the decision of the Electoral Tribunal which denied him Costa Rican citizenship.

The defense was presented by attorney Francisco Jose Villa Jimenez. In it he points out that "the suit does not fall under the jurisdiction of administrative law and as a consequence your office is not competent to judge this matter.

"This position is shared fully in the opinion handed down by the man who was then judge of the Court of Appeals, Daniel Quiros Salazar, to the effect that the Constitutional Assembly gave the Supreme Electoral Tribunal exclusive jurisdiction over the organization, direction and oversight of matters relating to voting and, in order that there should be no jurisdictional conflict arising over the interpretation of the pertinent judicial rules, the Constitutional Assembly granted that Tribunal exclusive and obligatory authority to interpret the constitutional and legal provisions applicable to electoral matters, as is clearly stated in Articles 99 and 102 of the Political Constitution.

"Also, it supports the doctrine that citizenship, though it forms a part of the civil status of an individual, has electoral consequences since elections depend on it, and without it the so-called electoral rights cannot be exercised, that is, the right to elect or to be elected. This means without a doubt that in citizenship we do indeed find an element of an electoral nature since if one does not enjoy the status of citizenship either by birth or by naturalization, these rights cannot be exercised. In my opinion, this is quite clear.

"In addition to being clear, it is logical and in conformity with the best doctrine in the field of International Civil Law which defines citizenship as a legal and political bond which exists between persons and the State as a source and guarantee of reciprocal rights and obligations, those termed 'electoral' being among these rights."

The Office of the Attorney General states in its defense that "to be a citizen means that one is under the laws that rule the group, which differ from those of other peoples due to the varying conditions in each society, and the citizen, this doctrine asserts, in determining the country to which he belongs, is indicating what laws are his, that is, his legal condition, which he seeks to have respected when he stands before other public or private bodies which invoke the application of the laws, so that the proper laws may be applied.

"On the other hand, naturalization is defined as 'a sovereign and discretionary act of the public authority by which a person acquires the status of a citizen of the country which that authority represents,' and if it is thought that the judiciary can authorize the review of the verdicts of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal by the administrative courts, the granting of citizenship by the public authority will cease being discretionary, some writers maintain, since in our country the procedures for granting citizenship are special procedures definitively decided upon by the electoral tribunal, the body which has absolute competence to determine everything concerned with naturalization and citizenship."

9204

CSO: 3010

BRIEFS

COALITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES--The president of the Popular Democratic Party (PDP), retired Navy Rear Admiral Luis Homero Lajara Burgos today invited nine political organizations to form a coalition to go up against the Dominican Revolutionary (PRD) and Reformist parties (PR). Lajara Burgos is inviting the [Antireelection] Democratic Integration Movement (MIDA), Christian Social Revolutionary Party (FRSC), Democratic Quisqueyan Party (PQD), National Civic Union (UCN), National Salvation Movement (MEN), National Conciliation Movement (MCD), Party of Civilian Veterans, Constitutional Action, and the People's Popular Movement. According to a press release brought to this newspaper by Lajara Burgos himself, the coalition of those groups would form a "third power" to jointly participate in the 16 May elections. [Text] [Santo Domingo EL NACIONAL in Spanish 20 Apr 80 p 12].

CSO: 3010

CUBAN REFUGEE SITUATION DISCUSSED

Fidel Castro's Failure

San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 18 Apr 80 p 6

[Editorial: "Cubans Fleeing Toward Freedom"]

[Text] A series of airplane flights was begun yesterday to evacuate the 10,000 Cubans who for several days have found asylum in the Peruvian diplomatic mission in Havana.

The first word of the first refugees who landed on Costa Rican soil was "Freedom!" which summarized in a single word the entire story of what they had left behind in Cuba, submerged at this time not only under the iron dictatorship of Fidel Castro, but in a disastrous economic situation. It is an economic situation which is worsening daily, to the point of exhausting the supply of food and clothing and the opportunity to feel that one will not end up in one of the prisons of the sadly celebrated Cuban penal system.

It is believed that Fidel Castro made a mistake in removing the armed guards from the Peruvian Embassy building in the Cuban capital. In this regard one might ask what would have occurred in the short or long term if those 10,000 desperate people of today could have carried out their dissenting action in Havana: the concentration of people could have taken place not on the grounds of a diplomatic mission, but in the public square. And no doubt it would have been much bigger. Seen in that light, was it really an error by Castro, or a sleight-of-hand trick, an artifice to dilute, to minimize the degree of discontent which today appears to be more extensive than ever?

In any case, this exodus, this mass flight of Cuban people, is a fact which is telling the entire world of the extreme to which the Cuban people will go to leave their country. Some of them, say the reports of the international news agencies, have arrived in Costa Rica poorly dressed. And possibly it will be that way with those who go to Peru, to the United States or to any other country. And those conditions are much more eloquent than anything which might be said against the regime that these Cuban people can no longer stand.

Aid For Refugees

San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 18 Apr 80 p 6

[Editorial: "Time To Demonstrate True Solidarity"]

[Text] Those 10,800 Cubans--men, women and children--who 2 weeks ago were given asylum in the Peruvian Embassy grounds in Havana, present the people of the continent with an opportunity to demonstrate their spirit of true solidarity.

Those thousands of fugitives give form to a true human drama which has all the seriousness of a catastrophe. They are thousands of homeless people who, had they been victims of a natural disaster, would not have been denied the help they need by anyone. Well, then, those thousands of Cubans are homeless, having lost their homes, belongings and country.

Those thousands of Cubans need the people of this hemisphere to help them, strictly for humanitarian reasons and in the spirit of the much-lauded continental solidarity. Those refugees need our help, and they need it today, from all the countries of this hemisphere, in particular, and from the entire world, in general.

8735

CSO: 3010

TEXT OF ARMS CONTROL LAW PUBLISHED

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 15 Apr 80 p 29

[Text of the Firearms, Ammunition and Their Accessories Law, which has been in effect since 12 March 1980.]

[Text] Decree No 160

The Revolutionary Government Junta:

Considering:

- i. That the lack of suitable legislation which regulates the possession, ownership or carrying of firearms, explosives and their accessories is a factor which has contributed to the increase in crime in the country;
- ii. That as the result of the urgent need to establish legal standards which permit the state to have exclusive right over such matters to combat crime and preserve the safety of Salvadorans;

Therefore:

In the exercise of the authority conferred by Decree No 1 of 1979, which was published in the Official Journal No 1 191, Volume 263 of the same year, decrees, sanctions and promulgates the following:

Firearms, Ammunition and Their Accessories Control Law.

Title I

Purpose of the Law

Art 1--The purpose of this law is to regulate the import, internal sale, manufacture, distribution, sale, transport, possession, carrying, use, confiscation, storing and destruction of firearms, ammunition and accessories.

Art 2--The Ministry of Defense and Public Safety will exercise control over the activities referred to in the preceding article in accordance with the provisions of the respective regulation.

Title II

Licenses for the import, sale, manufacture, repair, possession and carrying of arms, ammunition and their accessories.

Art 3--Every individual or corporation must obtain prior authorization from the Ministry of Defense and Public Safety to engage in the import, sale, manufacture or carrying of firearms, ammunition and their accessories. A special regulation will specify the parameters of these licenses.

Art 4--The following persons can possess, carry, transport or use firearms without the need for the license stipulated in this law:

- a) Commanders, officers or enlisted personnel of the armed forces and security organizations of the republic on active duty, in accordance with the respective military regulations, orders or directives.
- b) Surveillance personnel of the Directorate General of Penal and Rehabilitation Centers, in the performance of their duties in accordance with the respective regulation.
- c) Personnel of the customs, municipal and airport police forces when in the exercise of their duties.

Art 5--The following officials may also possess and carry firearms without need of the license stipulated by this law:

- a) The president and vice president of the republic;
- b) The president of the Legislative Assembly;
- c) The president of the Supreme Court of Justice;
- d) Ministers and under secretaries of state;
- e) Secretaries of the Presidency of the Republic;
- f) The Attorney General of the Republic;
- g) The Attorney General for the Poor;
- h) Members of the Territorial Service on the occasions they serve together under the immediate command of the respective commissioner or commander.

Title III

Registration of Arms

Art 6--Every firearm whose possession, ownership or carrying is authorized in conformance with this law must be registered in the Arms Register which will be maintained by the Ministry of Defense and Public Safety, in accordance with the provisions of the respective regulation.

Firearms used by the National Rifle Federation for sports activities will also be registered in the aforementioned register.

Title IV

Prohibitions

Art 7--The import, sale, manufacture, repair, possession, ownership or carrying of arms and ammunition which are not in the following categories are prohibited:

Arms: .22 caliber rifles; sporting or small-game shotguns; .22, .25, .32, .38 and .45 caliber revolvers; .22, .25, .32, .38 caliber and 9-mm semi-automatic pistols.

Saved-off shotguns and armored or mushroom-nosed ammunition are categorically prohibited.

In special cases and for security purposes, commercial, industrial, agricultural and bank enterprises or state and Ministry of Defense and Public Safety institutions can be authorized to use any class of firearms after they have met the legal requirements which will be established by the respective regulation.

Art 8--The import, sale, manufacture, repair, possession, ownership or carrying of telescopic sights or any attachment, accessory or device which reduces the blast of any firearm, as well as those which launch grenades are prohibited.

Art 9--The alteration or removal of the trademark, serial number or caliber of firearms, or the shortening of shotgun barrels is prohibited.

Art 10--Gunsmiths are prohibited from buying and selling firearms of any kind. Pawnshops are also prohibited from lending money on--or selling--the aforementioned arms.

Title V

Penalties

Art 11--Violations of provisions of this law, in addition to the penalties set by the Penal Code, will be penalized by confiscation of the arm or ammunition and cancellation of the corresponding licenses, if applicable.

Art 12--Merchants, manufacturers or gunsmiths who violate the provisions of this law will also incur a fine of 1,000 to 5,000 colons, depending upon the seriousness of the violation. Such fines will be administratively determined.

General Provisions

Art 13--To ensure faithful compliance with this law, the Ministry of Defense and Public Safety will order disarmament and arms confiscation operations, when deemed necessary.

Art 14--Hospitals, doctors, medical practitioners or nurses are required to report to Public Security organizations any action taken with respect to persons who were killed or wounded by a firearm.

Art 15--The same requirement applies to proprietors of vehicle repair shops or persons engaged in the buying and selling of vehicles or used spare parts, with respect to any bullet holes they discover in these vehicles or spare parts.

Art 16--Arms and ammunition confiscated pursuant to the provisions of this law must be forwarded to the Ministry of Defense and Public Safety, which can order their destruction when deemed appropriate.

Art 17--It is also presumed that arms, ammunition or their accessories found in a house, dwelling, residence, establishment, office or vehicle are the property or possession of the persons residing in these places, the owner of the building, the driver or passenger in the vehicle.

Title VI

Temporary and Final Provisions

Art 18--Any person who on the effective date of this law is the owner or possessor of a firearm must request the required license from the Ministry of Defense and Public Safety within 30 days following the effective date.

Art 19--Gunsmiths who have firearms belonging to other persons in their possession for repair must within a period not to exceed 5 days send a report to the Ministry of Defense and Public Safety containing:

- a) The name of the firearm's owner;
- b) Caliber of the firearm; and
- c) Repair or modification ordered.

Art 20--Money-lending companies, pawnshops or similar establishments which engaged in commercial transactions involving firearms prior to the effective date of this law, within a period of 30 days following the effective date of the law, must send a detailed report of these operations containing: the

date of the transaction, caliber, make, model, brand name and serial number of the firearm; name, address, occupation and nationality of the person with whom the transaction was carried out.

Art 21--The Executive Authority in the branches of Defense and Public Safety will issue the regulation covering this law.

Art 22--All laws or regulations antedating this law which contravene or are in contradiction to it in any way are null and void.

Art 23--This law will become effective 8 days after its publication in the Official Journal.

Issued in the President's Office; San Salvador, on the 19th day of the month of February in the year nineteen hundred and eighty.

8143

CSG: 3010

BRIEFS

BISHOP TO IRAQ--Iraq's President Saddam Husayn At-Tikriti today received Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who is paying an official visit to that country accompanied by a delegation. Husayn and Bishop discussed ways to strengthen the role of the nonaligned countries movement, to which their two countries belong, and the bilateral cooperation between Iraq and Grenada. They also took up the international situation, particularly matters affecting the Arab and Caribbean regions. 'Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri, vice chairman of the Iraqi revolution command council, noted that closer cooperation between nonaligned countries is essential to face up to the maneuvers aimed at frustrating the peoples' struggle for liberation and independence. Bishop praised the role played by Iraq in strengthening the movement. (Text) [FL121849 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1806 GMT 12 May 80]

CSO: 3010

COLONEL CHUPINA: MILITARY TO PREVENT CHAOS

Guatemala City DIARIO DE CENTRO AMERICA in Spanish 17 Apr 80 p 2

[Speech by Col German Chupina Barahona, director of the National Police, at the inauguration ceremony of the National Police social club; date and place not specified]

[Text] "We will not allow the existence of formidable conspirators, who are attempting to push us into a terrible abyss, to cause the fall of our democratic order, which stands like a great tree covering an immense area with its shade, its deep roots reaching far out, entwining themselves among the eternal rocks. To tear it down it would be necessary to root up the earth completely. Since this is our image of freedom, we understand that there could never be a greater iniquity nor a more evil assault against Guatemala than to leave her oppressed and in chains," Col German Chupina Barahona, director of the National Police, has said at the inauguration ceremony of the National Police's social club.

Colonel Chupina made the following speech in the presence of Gen Fernando Romeo Lucas Garcia, president of the republic; Carlos Enrique Ovando Barillas, president of the judiciary body; Donald Alvarez Ruiz, minister of government; Dr Jose Trinidad Ucles Ramirez, first vice president of the Congress of the Republic; ministers and vice ministers of state; magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice; representatives in Congress; and other high officials:

On very few occasions in the 99 years of its existence has there been felt so much emotion and so much satisfaction in the National Police over its successes and social advancements as is being felt now. For though it is true that its history is a long one, that its existence stretches out over a long period of time, and that if only a part of it were written it would fill great volumes, it is also true that its history is short and poor, if we speak exclusively about any gains and improvements which promote the social, moral and spiritual advancement of its members and their families.

We have wanted in some way to give recognition to everything that the generations which have come before us did for the National Police while they were active members because we know of their many efforts and, moreover, we

understand that there may have been limiting factors of the most diverse character which did not allow them to go beyond what already existed. However, we also understand that the evolutionary process in which we find ourselves involved as human beings and especially as National Police, now makes us responsible to the coming generations, allowing us, thank God, to put our utmost enthusiasm, our will and our resources to work so that our journey through the ranks of this noble and beloved institution, and our humble effort, may be as beneficial as we have wanted it to be, holding ourselves to the spirit of our service: to do our duty quietly, without any claim at all to recognition or gratitude.

The General Directorate of the National Police maintains the thesis that every institution, group or organization, before carrying out the assignment for which it exists and in order better to fulfill its mission, should make sure that there is security inside it--that security to which all of us have a right and which also guarantees future benefits and advantages for all at the family level, because it has been proven that the work performed is thus much more efficient, both individually and as a team. And as a result, the institution, group or organization gets the most out of its potential resources, and this is in part the reason for the existence of this house, because it was long overdue that the National Police of Guatemala should own a place such as this one, whose facilities, though they certainly will never fully satisfy the most diverse tastes, will still provide the minimum services, capable of relieving the tensions of the service, capable of providing a break in the severe routine of our agent's sometimes harsh daily work. Because, friends, this is our National Police club, which was planned and built because we deserve it, especially those who while wearing the sacred uniform, honoring our country with it and with the sacrifice of their duty, serving and meeting such an unbending and harsh obligation, have not until today been able to find time to escape from the difficult task of being an agent of the National Police--an enormous and enduring monument to courage, as it has been correctly called--and it was specifically in thinking of them that this project has been carried out.

This is not a project that was conceived with ambitious plans for a huge and complex building, and in carrying it out we have not attempted to compete with any other building in luxury or fancy architecture. We have only wanted to bring to a successful conclusion a project which was born specifically out of the determination we all feel to search and find any benefits that there may be for our noble institution, a determination which should always be kept alive because in this case, it is up to all of us who are involved to keep watch over the maintenance as well as over the improvement of this club.

Our great institution, only 1 year away from being a 100-year-old National Police, today inaugurates the building that houses its social club and we can already say with justifiable pride that this is a historic day for us, especially because for 99 years it was necessary to make cumbersome contracts or accept offers with strings attached in order to find a site or a building where a meeting or a party could be held. From now on all of

our meetings, either for work or for celebration, will be held in these premises, because it is our home, and we will use it with the trust and affection with which we will preserve it and improve it.

These are simple quarters but not lacking in comfort and we do not doubt that they will serve their purpose, and all we have to do from this day forward is to take care of them because they will be useful to us, because they are ours, and because they represent a look toward the future, and we know that all who follow after us will do the same.

The comfort and physical well-being of society are the product of the spiritual liberation of mankind. And to this extent we are confident that we will always be able to maintain this high degree of individual development in order to be able to guarantee the permanence of a Guatemala always free, and the existence of a fatherland which every day becomes greater and better, because this is our responsibility.

We will not allow the existence of formidable conspirators, who are attempting to push us into a terrible abyss, to cause the fall of our democratic order, which stands like a great tree covering an immense area with its shade, its deep roots reaching far out, entwining themselves among the eternal rocks. To tear it down it would be necessary to root up the earth completely. Since this is our image of freedom, we understand that there could never be a greater iniquity nor a more evil assault against Guatemala than to leave her oppressed and in chains.

I consider this an opportune time to express gratitude for the spontaneous collaboration of all these institutions, business firms and individuals who in one way or another contributed their assistance in the realization of this important project. To all, our eternal thanks.

Mr President of the Republic, Division Gen Fernando Romeo Lucas Garcia, through me the National Police makes clear and evident its deepest gratitude to you for the steadfast support you have always shown us which has enhanced us as an institution, physically, morally and spiritually, and especially for the support you have given us on this occasion when, because you are personally inaugurating this beautiful building, this simple act takes on real significance and leaves unforgettable memories. For this, Mr President, our eternal loyalty.

9204

CSO: 3010

GUATEMALA

FOREIGN COMPANIES CONTINUE OIL EXPLORATION

Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 20 Mar 80 p 20

[Report by correspondent Carlos Absalon Galvez]

[Text] Santa Elena Peten--Two foreign companies are continuing their oil explorations in the northern part of this region, especially in areas near the Mexican border, where the existence of oil has already been verified.

The FYDEP [National Agency for the Economic Promotion and Development of El Peten] Promoter, Col Jorge Mario Reyes Porras, said the companies involved are Texaco and Hispanoil, which are also building a regular highway from Ciudad Flores to the area called El Naranjo, where the explorations are taking place.

This highway, Reyes emphasized, will enable Texaco and Hispanoil to transport vital drilling equipment.

If There Is Oil

Colonel Reyes added that according to initial explorations it is possible there is oil inside Guatemalan borders, "specifically very near Peten, in Mexico's southern region (Tenesique and Chiapas). Mexican companies are drilling, and it is known that they have found oil."

9545

C50: 3010

BRIEFS

PORT CHAMPERICO EXPORTS--Cotton is the most important agroindustrial product of our country's exports through the docks of the national port of Champerico, according to information provided by authorities of this agency. They point out that 117,228 tons of cotton were exported during 1979, while during the same period 469 tons of coffee were exported, as were 1,643 tons of sesame and 361 tons of other agricultural products that traditionally are sent to the markets of Europe, Asia, etc. According to predictions by Champerico port agents, more exports are expected this year, taking into account data on plots of land in tillage, and it was also emphasized that cotton once again will be exported in greater volume than other products and will at the same time bring in more money. Slight increases are also anticipated in sugar exports, taking into account the price rise on the international market, and finally, it is anticipated that there will be an increased export of beef to traditional markets. [Text] [Guatemala City EL IMPARCIAL in Spanish 7 Apr 80 pp 1,2] 9545

CSO: 3010

HAITI

FNDP LEADER PREDICTS OVERTHROW OF DICTATORSHIP

PA100028 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2036 GMT 9 May 80

[Text] Mexico City, 9 May (EFE)--Hundreds of Haitians are preparing through armed action to overthrow their country's dictatorship, according to Lionel Laine, of the National Democratic Progressive Party (Partido Nacional Democratico Progresista--FNDP).

In an interview granted to the Mexican paper EXCELSIOR in Miami and published here today, the Haitian leader said "The time has come to pass from words and theories to armed action."

He stressed that the Haitian people have suffered for 20 years the "Duvalier" oppression, represented by Francois (Papa Doc) Duvalier and his heir, the incumbent lifetime president of Haiti, Jean Claude.

The FNDP leader also stated that during the Duvalier domination, some 700,000 Haitians have been murdered, which has motivated hundreds of persons to liberate themselves through armed action.

He admitted the methods used so far were insufficient, but he believes the possibilities are good.

"We have decided," he noted, "to rise in arms." But obviously not at the moment although, he added, "the activities against the tyranny will start soon."

Laine said his organization, which shows some affinity with the socialist international, welcomes all types of alliances because, above all, it wants to unite "all Haitian patriots." He said his movement welcomes communists, Christians, Maoists, Lutherans or any other ideology, but stressed, however, that he will neither ask for support from Washington or Moscow.

The EXCELSIOR reporter revealed that he was taken somewhere away from Miami, where he was shown an arsenal which is to be used against Duvalier, including "M-1," "M-14" and "M-16" automatic rifles, machineguns and submachineguns. He told the reporter that his supporters are presently training in various points in the United States, Canada and South America.

He added that the human rights policy of the U.S. Government has not taken any action to condemn the regime of Jean Claude Duvalier, noting that his supporters' training in that country is limited.

He admitted that his statements to EXCELSIOR could cause him personal harm, but he explained that it is not a matter of an individual determination but a party resolution. "We want," he added, "Latin America to be the first region to learn that the Haitian patriots do not remain with their arms crossed or are merely talking."

He said they need the solidarity of the Latin Americans, Africans and nations of the Third World, but that they first want to show they are engaged in concrete actions.

"We are nationalists, democratic and progressive, and we want to restore democracy in our country. We are certain that these postulates will deserve the support of all upright citizens," Laine concluded.

CSG: 3010

PLH TOP LEADERSHIP CHOOSES FAX GARCIA AS POSSIBLE PRESIDENT

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 28 Apr 80 p 72

[Article by Luis Ronaldo Garcia]

[Text] It is generally agreed among the top leaders of the Liberal Party that Gen Policarpo Fax Garcia should be ratified at the Constitutional Assembly as president of the provisional government which will turn over the reins of power to the new leader elected by the people.

Deputies Carlos Montoya and Carlos Flores of the Liberal Party of Honduras (PLH) stated publicly last weekend that "the Honduran army vindicated itself to the Honduran people by guaranteeing free elections in the nation. Part of the triumph of liberalism is due to that attitude."

They revealed that General Fax Garcia is the most favored candidate for the presidency of the provisional government, given that through him the armed forces proved to be upright and honorable, a tribute to that military organization.

According to the Liberal deputies, who are very close to the Liberal Party's highest-ranking officials, there is unanimous support in the party for naming Gen Fax Garcia president of the provisional government, to serve until a new president of the republic is elected.

In addition to putting General Fax Garcia at the head of the new provisional government, the Liberals intend "to do away with many inept ministers in public administration; some will have to be removed from office. Moreover, the Supreme Court and many of the autonomous agencies that have become too bureaucratized will have to be reorganized."

One of the agencies the Liberals want to shake up is the National Agrarian Institute (INA), plus all the offices that have to do with agriculture in Honduras.

They are also ready to completely reorganise the nation's municipalities, principally in those where the Liberals won many votes.

With regard to the metropolitan community, the two Liberal deputies claimed that the citizens of the capital should elect a mayor who will meet their needs, who will form a positive and dynamic local government that benefits the city in every way.

National Integration

The two members of the Liberal Party repeated the words of their leader, Roberto Suazo Cordova, to the effect that "the new government will be a constitutional one that will represent a consensus of all Hondurans. All the best men in the country--Liberals, Nationalists, Pimistas and even some Christian Democrats (despite that party's call for a boycott of the elections a few days before the polls opened)--will be called upon to cooperate for the betterment of Honduras."

The Liberal deputies indicated that "this consolidation of the Honduran people has begun within the Liberal Party. We have opened our arms to the Liberal Alliance of the People (ALIFO), in spite of the fierce attacks that political group launched against the Liberal leadership during the most critical moments of the struggle, at a time when support and encouragement were needed the most during the tough political times when we were beginning to lay a solid foundation for the triumph of liberalism.

"Regardless of these past errors, even though there was another one within a very short time of the elections at San Pedro Sula, the Liberal Party is still willing to greet the ALIFO with open arms. It has forgiven them, and will call upon the best men among them--because there are talented people in ALIFO--to work for the development of Honduras."

Investigating Commission

Another proposal the PLN intends to make at the National Constitutional Assembly is the creation of an investigating commission that will work closely with the deputies of that party to prevent further squandering of the Honduran people's monies, and prevent funds from being diverted for personal enrichment instead of filling the nation's coffers. It has been pointed out that the Liberals want to bolster this agency (which is nothing new in countries such as the United States and European nations) so that they will have absolute powers, and to forestall abuses in public administration.

Advisory Group

Some Liberal deputies have also reported that the PLN plans to establish a technical advisory group or team which will give the president of the republic and the cabinet scientific guidance in the different areas of national development.

"The days of government by parties are gone. Here we will use the services of all the capable people in Honduras; we will work in teams, through calm, fruitful discussion, to make the decisions that best suit Honduras," they said.

It was noted that in some government agencies that cover the same area there is a duplication of efforts, and in most cases there is no high-level policy-making that could serve as a basis for implementing plans.

The Liberals have said that in general, that is what they want to do. There will also be serious consultations regarding the large projects that undeniably bring credit to the entire nation and go beyond partisan effectiveness.

"We will work for Honduras, to achieve social and economic conquests for the entire nation. We will express our gratitude for the Liberal votes of the peasants and the workers by bringing about concrete achievements in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility, and the effective development of the country so that there will be no more poverty, no more illiteracy, no more obscurantism in Honduras," stated the future members of the Assembly.

0926

CMC: 3010

HONDURAS

ERNESTO CRUZ SAYS LEFTISTS WILL NOT PENETRATE COUNTRY

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 21 Mar 80 p 2

[Text] Former President Ramon Ernesto Cruz said yesterday that the ultra-left will not penetrate Honduras as it has done in El Salvador and Guatemala if the new constitutional government turns its attention to the majorities by hastening agrarian reform.

"What is happening in El Salvador is that there have always been two groups: a small minority which has always owned everything, and a majority that has never had anything. In Honduras there is not room for Marxist penetration because the situation is different here," said Cruz.

He stated that this is true despite the fact that there is "a Marxist wedge in Central America that has encountered fertile ground in those countries where there has been injustice, a condition that communism takes advantage of."

The former chief executive, who ruled in Honduras constitutionally with the support of the National Party, said that much work is awaiting the new government in Honduras, given the circumstances in Central America at present.

He Will Not Participate

Cruz said he would definitely not participate in public administration this time, "because I no longer want to, but I am of course obliged to offer my help with respect to the defense of the nation's territory. As a Honduran, and in my capacity as a lawyer, I shall always be ready," he emphasized.

Popular Demonstration

Asked about the "Freedom Marches," one of which was held in San Pedro Sula and another planned for Tegucigalpa, he explained that "this is a palpable sign that the people do not want communism and desire to go to the polls in the coming elections.

"The truth is that communism does not exist—not even in Russia itself have they succeeded in consolidating it—because the aim of that form of government is the elimination of the state, and that we do not want here. There are so many weaknesses in that system that although they rely on wheat for nourishment, sometimes they do not have any at all and have to buy it from the United States," he said.

Former President Cruz, who was interviewed in the street after visiting the Palace of Ministries yesterday morning, was optimistic about the future of the Honduran people, who are getting ready for the elections in April of this year.

"I hope that we will return to a rule of law as soon as possible and that agrarian reform will be speeded up; this should not consist in giving land to peasants but rather in providing them with the necessary technical assistance, and educating them and preparing them for the development of Honduras," he concluded.

9015

CSO: 3010

HONDURAS

BRIEFS

AGAS ON NEXT PRESIDENT--Walterio Galdames, president of the Sula Cattleman and Farmers Association (AGAS), has stated that "undoubtedly the National Constituent Assembly has ample authority to elect the next constitutional president of Honduras in a runoff election. However, if there is not a substantial majority in one of the political parties, it would be better to establish a provisional government until regular elections could be convoked. The provisional government could last for 1 or 2 years while the economic conditions for a new election campaign for regular elections were being created, because holding one election after another in rapid succession is not good. In addition, such a government should be buttressed by representatives of the various parties that will participate in the coming 20 April contest so that they may comply fully with their commitment." Asked whether a runoff presidential election could bring about disorders, he replied, "I do not think so; at least there would not be greater problems than those already existing, because conditions would be very different as we would be under a constitutional government, after all." [Text] [San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 18 Mar 80 p 45] 9015

LITERACY CAMPAIGN--Minister of Public Education Eugenio Matute Canisales will personally request the cooperation of the political parties and the Honduran clergy for the implementation of the Mass Literacy Campaign which began last 7 April. That was the education minister's justification for the absence of representatives of these important sectors from the National Coordination Committee of the Literacy Campaign. Without clearly explaining the reason for the absence of the political parties, Dr Matute Canisales indicated that he personally will ask for their cooperation so that they can turn to their local committees and motivate illiterates to go to the literacy sessions. He said that "if the political parties at the National Constitutional Assembly decide to include an article in the new Constitution governing the literacy of the masses, the measure will be welcomed by us." He also raised the issue of the absence of the highest educational authority, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), stating that "we are now putting into practice everything they have taught us." The minister of education is receiving technical assistance from an adviser sent by the Organization of American States (OAS). In this regard, he said, "Some day we Hondurans will be able to work by ourselves, without the constant help of international advisers." [Text] [San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 28 Apr 80 p 38] 8926

NICARAGUA

NATION'S APPROACH TO COMMUNISM QUESTIONED

Madrid BLANCO Y NEGRO in Spanish 16-22 Apr 80 pp 24-26

[Article by Vicente Alejandro Guillamon]

[Text] Because of the mistakes and the horrors that the right and the far right have committed in a number of Latin American countries, it is not exactly fashionable today to talk about the mistakes and horrors that the communist left commits there every day. To be more specific, the history of Nicaragua is portrayed in Spain today as a history of good and evil: everything that Somoza did was a horror of horrors, and in contrast now the kindly Sandinists have come, like the Little Sisters of Charity, to heal the nation's wounds.

But is this the truth? Aren't we looking at the path that Cuba followed, switching from one dictatorship to another?

BLANCO Y NEGRO today offers its readers a report that reveals the face of the truth that everyone is hiding. We should clarify, moreover, that the report does not exactly come from capitalist circles, millionaires dispossessed by the revolution and who would now have an interest in slandering their enemies. The report is from openly progressive union and labor movements that are not, however, prepared to confuse the struggle for justice with the establishment of communism. Here are the facts. Let our readers answer the following question:

Is Nicaragua on the Brink of Communism?

The author of this article has had access to a report that a Latin American organization has transmitted to certain Spanish Government authorities to bring them up to date on the actual situation in Nicaragua after the downfall of the Somoza regime.

The report was drawn up on the basis of data furnished by labor sectors and grass roots communities that know better than anyone else the hardships that the Nicaraguan people are suffering and the true intentions of the new ruling group that is bidding to control all power in the Somozas' former fief.

The style of writing in the report is merely expository, and we have adhered to the original almost to the letter; we have only summarized it somewhat and left out a number of references that we regarded as dangerous for the persons referred to in them.

Lastly, we ought to clarify that what the authors of the report term Marxist-Leninist ideology, we would call simply communist, although there are nuances with regard to the scope and orientation that the protagonists of developments in Nicaragua themselves would impart to their communism.

Now that we have made these clarifications, which we feel are essential for a proper interpretation of this "dossier," we will plunge directly into it.

The Factors of Power

The ultimate authority, in other words, the core of decision-making power in Nicaragua, is the so-called National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN), which consists of nine commanders, who reflect the existing trends within the FSLN. These trends have a proportional representation. Tomas Borge, Bayardo Arce and Henry Ruiz belong to the "prolonged people's war" tendency. Jaime Wheelock, Luis Carrion and Carlos Nunez represent the so-called "proletarian" trend, and Humberto and Daniel Ortega, along with the Mexican Tirado, make up the so-called "intervention" (tercerista) trend. Nevertheless, these nine men have a common denominator: their Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Government Junta reigns but does not govern. Its functions are to represent and to implement, recognizing that the National Directorate of the FSLN has the last word. Therefore, there is no duality of power to cause tensions or contradictions.

Real Basis for Power

The FSLN relies fundamentally on the following factors of power:

a) Control of the military

Although we cannot assert that the Sandinist Army is homogeneous, much less that it adheres to Marxist-Leninist thought, its line of command, especially at the top, is controlled by men who conform to this philosophy. A process of purges has been carried out simultaneously with the startup of the Political Training School of the Sandinist Army, which functions as a Marxist-Leninist ideological indoctrination center.

One major factor is prestige, because, in a word, the FSLN stresses the great military "victory" that it won over the dictatorship, when Somoza's overthrow was actually the result of a negotiated settlement.

This prestige has undergone serious erosion in recent months. On the one hand, a situation of full-fledged anarchy has emerged, and in many instances each commander has acted according to his own judgment, pursuing his own ambitions and seeking greater political space in the power struggle. In other instances, the attitudes and behavior of the members of the Sandinist Army remind people of the attitudes and behavior of Somoza's guards: arbitrary arrests, takeovers of buildings, confiscation of cars, etc.

The haughtiness of most of the commanders, who speak offensively and aggressively to those who disagree with them (calling them mangy dogs, cockroaches, vermin, etc) has created a visible unease among major segments of the population. In addition, militarily this army is quite dilapidated. It has serious problems getting supplies such as equipment, uniforms, weapons, munitions, etc.

We should not forget that some 15,000 weapons are still thought to be in the hands of civilians, who have refused to turn them over in spite of the appeals and even the operations that the FSLN has undertaken to recover them.

In any case, the Sandinist Army is unquestionably a key pillar supporting the new regime.

b) Social control

It is in this field that the FSLN has tried to monopolize all of the people's organized forms of expression. All efforts have been aimed at having single organizations: a single labor union, a single youth movement, a single women's movement, etc.

The grass roots organizations spurring this approach are the so-called Sandinist Defense Committees (CDS), which function as the "eyes and ears" of the revolution and as political and ideological orientation centers.

Although they have not been set up and consolidated nationwide, they are the groundwork for social regimentation.

In the labor sphere, they have launched the Sandinist Workers Federation, which has overwhelming official backing: buildings, vehicles, assistance from the Labor Ministry and, above all, the active presence of Sandinist leaders, the main commanders in particular, who come to work centers to "organize" workers within the CST.

Soon after their victory, along with the men of the "Simon Bolivar" Brigade, which consisted mainly of Trotskyites from the Fourth International, they did the "dirty" work, forcing people, in many cases at gunpoint, to join the CST. This brigade was expelled from the country, but the job had been done.

In pursuit of this single movement policy, the CDS's have promoted the establishment of the 19 July Youth Movement, the Sandinist Women's Movement and the Agricultural Workers Association (ATC).

The entire setup indicates that they do not want to leave a single opening in the social fabric.

This policy has, however, met with strong popular resistance, in particular among unions. The Federation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN), which is affiliated with CLAT (Latin American Workers Federation) and which enjoys a well-earned prestige because of its struggles against the Somoza dictatorship, has grown stronger and represents a clear alternative to the government-backed labor movement.

c) Economic control

Given the enormous economic power that the Somoza family and its followers had amassed, it has been easy for the FSLN to centralize virtually the entire production apparatus in its hands. In this regard there has been a clear-cut policy of not promoting private enterprise, and although the men in power have said and repeated publicly that they will keep a major portion of the economy in private hands or in joint economic arrangements with the state, in reality ground rules have not been established, and in contrast the trend is towards centralizing in state hands the entire production apparatus, even key service areas like banking, transportation, trade, etc.

d) Political control

The FSLN has met with significant opposition in this area, and in particular, political groups with democratic leanings have presented an alternative political program.

The FSLN portrays itself as the national liberation movement, with a clear-cut tendency towards monopoly. Its approaches and actions are designed to eliminate or minimize any alternative political viewpoint. Existing political groups, such as the Social Christian Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, etc., are under constant attack.

It is true that these parties do not have broad popular support, but it is no less true that as the FSLN continues to project the image of a power-monopolizing organization, many democratic segments of society are joining the democratic parties, which have recorded steady growth in recent months.

e) Control of the mass media

Inasmuch as Somoza or his supporters owned most of the mass media, the state took over 17 radio stations, the 2 television channels and a newspaper. This enables the FSLN to control almost all outgoing information and, therefore, to present only the official line of thought.

The following remained outside government control: the newspaper PUEBLO, the newspaper LA PRENSA, and the Radio Catolica, Radio Amor, Radio Corporacion and Radio Mundial broadcasting stations.

The first mentioned paper, which followed the Maoist line, was arbitrarily shut down, and its owners were tried and sentenced to 2 years in jail for being counterrevolutionaries. The FSLN has repeated that similar "medicine" will be administered to those taking the same approach.

This arbitrary move furthered restricted freedom of expression in the country.

LA PRENSA has hewn to the official line, rarely expressing dissent and always in a very polite tone.

In point of fact, there is self-censorship and some degree of fear. Hence, dissent from the official line is practically never heard.

To summarize, we can gather from the above that the Nicaraguan Revolution is moving towards the development of a Castro-like totalitarian political program. Nevertheless, we must also take a look at the limitations on this program.

Terrible Economic Situation

Because of the aftermath of the war, the plundering of public funds by Somoza and his cronies, the sizable foreign debt and the substantial drop in farm production (cotton, coffee, etc), the country's economic situation is very grave, with all of the social repercussions that this entails: unemployment, supply shortfalls, high prices, etc.

Without doubt, the FSLN's basic task is national reconstruction; this is a gigantic undertaking that can be accomplished only through strong and sustained international support and wideranging domestic cooperation. Nicaragua needs help and peace.

In order to undertake the reconstruction task, the FSLN has to seek economic and technological resources in what we call the Western World. All indications are, however, that no government or international organization would be willing to finance a totalitarian political program. Hence, the equation is simple: reconstruction=pluralism.

This tragic dependency severely curtails the maneuvering room of the strong-willed FSLN. It is being forced to act pragmatically and will not be able to readily establish its political program, unless the USSR and its satellites show a willingness to furnish unlimited support, thus defying the United States in its natural sphere of influence.

For the moment the USSR does not seem interested in providing such support, and thus we can see the FSLN's desperate efforts to obtain, for example, Venezuelan oil under the most favorable conditions. The FSLN itself has described the country as an international "beggar."

So far, the FSLN has not received enough assistance to meet the most elementary of needs. There is a great deal of international reluctance, as well as strong pressure to see to it that any aid really helps insure pluralism.

Domestic Opposition

There has been a great deal of speculation about Cuban aid, but Cuba clearly has barely enough resources to survive. Its support comes through ideological channels: culture, communications, state security, by sending over ideologues. There is no evidence of major assistance for economic recovery and the restructuring of the country. The overthrow of Somoza was not a unilateral FSLN accomplishment; it resulted from a series of efforts and sacrifices by the Nicaraguan people, businessmen, union organizations, political groups, churches, etc, with strong and decisive international backing.

The FSLN itself is heterogeneous, and we cannot assert that all of its members hold the same ideology, not even the same concept of the revolutionary process. Each knapsack contains an ideological load and a path to be traveled.

Thus, the FSLN has very pronounced limitations in sweeping away all opposition and establishing a totalitarian political program. Furthermore, the country would not tolerate a fresh armed confrontation.

Unasiness and discontent at home are unquestionably mounting, and in the face of this the FSLN has only two options: either tolerate criticism and delay the establishment of a totalitarian program, or move towards a confrontation by cracking down on and trying to eliminate all democratic forces, with all that this would entail both at home and abroad.

The conditions do not seem to be present for the FSLN to take the latter approach.

Some Conclusions

From the above very brief outline it is obvious that the FSLN is aiming at the establishment of a political program that is strongly imbued with Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, given the current domestic situation and international outlook, it is unlikely that it will achieve this in the short run.

Of course there is always a tendency towards puerile radicalism, and we cannot rule out the possibility that while not exactly duplicating the Cuban model, FSLN leaders will try to set up a Marxist dictatorship. There are, however, still opportunities to struggle and, above all, to support the democratic forces that are waging an internal battle. It is also clear that any solution will have to come from within and that any attempt to forcibly impose a solution from the outside does not have much chance of success. On the contrary, it would unite the country around the FSLN and strengthen the current leaders. It would be a replay of what happened in Cuba with the Bay of Pigs.

People have the impression that the men who have the ultimate decision-making power in the FSLN are not interested in a radicalization that might jeopardize the survival of the process. This does not mean, however, that they are not trying to gain as much political and especially social maneuvering room as they can in order to eventually secure hegemony.

Given the current regional situation, the outcome of present developments in El Salvador will be very important, because depending on what happens there, the FSLN will have more or less maneuvering room, both domestically and internationally. There is no reason to expect that what happened in Nicaragua will be repeated in another Central American country. On the contrary, any attempt in that direction will meet with strong internal and external opposition, in a clear-cut triumph for the most conservative forces, which are deeply concerned about and irritated by what is happening in Nicaragua.

In conclusion, the shaping of the Nicaraguan revolutionary process will depend to a large extent on the role and approach taken by democratic governments, which can exert a positive and vigorous influence on the process in many ways. In this connection, the role of the Andean Group, headed up by Venezuela, is vital.

When all is said and done, Nicaragua still has a long road to traverse, and although time and space are on the FSLN's side, we cannot assert that all is already lost.

8743

CSO: 3010

EFFECT OF ROMERO'S DEATH ON REVOLUTIONARY CHRISTIANS DISCUSSED

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 28 Mar 80 p 3

[Text] This headline is prompted by the cruel assassination of Magr Oscar Arnulfo Romero, archbishop of San Salvador, a pastor who knew his sheep and the enemies of his flock. He was a Christian who faithfully performed the mission conferred upon him by Jesus and the church, a man who gave his testimony as a brother of the people--a people exploited, oppressed, submerged in poverty and massacred.

Monsignor Romero died. He made that choice on behalf of the poor of whom others only speak. In a world basically divided into two classes, to really choose the poor is to sign one's own death warrant. The powerful are prohibiting the people from pursuing their struggle for liberation. The powerful do not want class struggle. They want peaceful and growing domination. Therefore, those who in such circumstances speak of peace are referring to the peace which the world gives and are accomplices of those who are striving to preserve an unjust order which generates violence and negates love.

Nevertheless, no one expects a panegyric for the martyred bishop. We cannot live on past glories. The discovery of the similarity between this death and the liberating death of Jesus of Nazareth should be a call to the entire church, so that we Christians can review our faithfulness to the Gospel, without attempting to hide mediocrity behind the testimony of martyrs. Therefore, let us rather speak of our choice for the poor.

Let us do this as members of the Body of Christ, if we really believe that the church is the true sacrament of the presence of the living Christ in the history of man; if we really believe that the world needs redemption and that it is the church which has been given the mission of freeing all men. Because, if we really believe this, the church has to relive the historical presence of Jesus. I do not mean the details of his life, which can only be represented theatrically, but rather the profound choices and the meaningful attitudes which made of Jesus the perfect man and make of us new men and women.

Now then, Jesus did not make a preferential choice for the poor but rather an exclusive choice for the poor.

Jesus was poor. Jesus rejected the rich until they decided to become poor themselves. However, the basic criterion for the assumption of poverty, according to the Gospel, is not in the value of poverty per se, but rather in the requirement for love which becomes real and veracious in the service of others, in sharing one's goods, in giving up one's life....

It is true that Jesus made that choice for the poor because such was the mission received from God. However, has not the church taken up this self-same mission from Jesus? Then, why is there fear of denunciation and criticism of struggle and of changing structures?

Let us state it clearly: In Jesus the choice for the poor was definitely motivated by faith; a faith understood as the saving grace of God. And that commitment was made effective in the economic and sociopolitical sector.

From that profound motivation of faith--action of the Spirit--and from that choice of the poor--manifestation of a fertile communion with God--Jesus questioned the theocratic, exploitive and oppressive system which prevailed in a Palestine dominated by the Roman Empire. Jesus did not recognize the will of God in the power of the highest priests nor in the authority of the Sanhedrin; he did not recognize it in the sacrifices, in the ritual purifications, nor in the observance of the Sabbath; he did not recognize it in the magnificence of the temple nor in the discrimination of the Samaritans.... Would He recognize the will of God today in the despotism of some leaders who claim to be pastors or in the pharisaical obsession for orthodoxy? Would He recognize it today in faithful compliance with canonical law?

From the heart of the self-same oppressed people, when in them there is the incarnation of an authentic evangelist, real prophetic communities spring forth which customarily seal their testimony in blood. And in our days, that is a sign of credibility so that the world will recognize a living Christ who continues to struggle, dying and being resurrected, for its liberation.

A bishop has died in El Salvador. They have killed a true pastor and prophet. And Christ continues to be alive and present in his church. However, liberators are not created out of humanity if they limit themselves to the publication of condolences filled with hypocrisy when a Christian dies who was vilified and alienated by the self-same high officials, although with different words and different deeds.

It is true that these lines are being written with the emotion produced by an atrocious crime. However, they are also being written with a fear that we will quickly forget the events and easily silence our consciences.

8143

CSO: 3010

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM DEFENDED IN EDITORIAL

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 7 Apr 80 p 3

[Editorial: "Revolution Defends Freedom of Religion"]

[Text] There are persons with evil intentions who convince those still willing to be deceived that the Sandinist Popular Revolution does not respect the religious freedoms of our people.

For us, practice is the sole criterion of truth. And in practice, the respect which Sandinism has for the authentically popular traditions has been demonstrated.

This was clearly exemplified during Holy Week. Thousands of parents assembled to see their sons and daughters who are engaged in the literacy campaign which reaches even the remotest areas. Other thousands of Nicaraguans traveled to vacation areas, and many others participated directly in religious services held during this time of the year. And in order that everything could take place without incidents of any kind, the Sandinist Police, the Sandinist Popular Army, the National Health System and the Red Cross worked without rest.

For the first time, religious activities were not used to sell the "latest styles for this period of the summer"; for the first time, there were no genocidal guards terrorizing the people; for the first time, there was a police force and an army protecting the religious freedom of Nicaraguans.

It is also important to point out the order and discipline shown by the people in that gigantic to-and-fro of thousands of persons. It is the first time that the week went by in a real climate of tranquility.

In reality, only within the framework of the Sandinist Popular Revolution could something of the kind take place; and we are sure that in the coming years order will be greater and the risks and dangers which existed during the former regime will disappear forever.

The religious freedom of our people is guaranteed. All of us Nicaraguans, under the leadership of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front], can hereby assure it.

PAPER DISCUSSES NEW FORM OF DEMOCRACY

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 11 Apr 80 p 3

[Editorial: "Democracy Has New Content"]

[Text] With the overthrow of the dictatorship, there was also forever buried in Nicaragua the old, fictitious shell of a democracy by means of which Somoza, the conservatives and the political hacks of the moment always attempted to legitimize themselves in the eyes of our people. History would have been different had Somoza been removed from the country "in one fell swoop" leaving intact the middle-class power bases as imperialism and the participants in the mediation effort would have wished; however, fortunately for our people, such was not the case. With the victory of the revolution--over Somozism and reformism--all the institutions of the middle class, all its economic, political and ideological power bases, were overturned.

A new democratic and popular government sprang up, and its institutionalization does not in any way resemble what middle-class commonsense, which is still floating around in the atmosphere, suggests Nicaraguan democracy should be.

Precisely therein resides the originality of the Sandinist revolution; in the manner in which the fundamental forces that make up popular power--laborers, peasants and radicalized lower middle-class sectors--give organizational form to that government and at the same time permit the participation of other forces which support the revolution and its institutions.

And this must basically respond to the peculiarities of our revolution and the different structures of government.

In this regard, statements made by Dr Sergio Ramirez to the New Nicaragua News Agency (ANN) on the subject of the Council of State make two things quite clear: first, that this consultative-legislative entity will have broad national representation and, second, that the vital forces of the revolution will be present in it, in accordance with their power of representation.

Up to now, the mass organizations have been a de facto expression of the new bases of Nicaraguan democracy and popular participation. However, both at the internal organizational level of each of these organizations and as regards their specific forms of participation in the government and the expression of their interests, there is still a long way to go. However, what are perhaps most important are the experiences accumulated up to the present, the full exercise of democratic freedoms with which the workers are strengthening themselves day by day in organization and awareness, and the character of the organizations which guarantee representation to the great masses and their intransigent presence in each of the struggles and actions which their representatives are carrying forward.

In a few weeks, what up to now has been a de facto form of democratic participation by the masses will acquire an institutional channel with the installation of the Council of State. In it, the representatives of the laborers, peasants, women, youth, teachers and other authentic popular unions will be able to express their interests to the entire nation by means of legislative proposals. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance beginning today, to speed up the campaign to prepare all members of mass organizations for their participation in the Council of State.

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CSO: 3010

ORIGINALITY OF REVOLUTION DISCUSSED

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 11 Apr 80 p 2

[Commentary by Jaime Perez Alonso: "The Originality of the Nicaraguan Revolution"]

[Text] "All nations will reach socialism," Lenin wrote, "this is inevitable; however, each of them will reach it in a different way. Each of them will contribute a certain amount of originality to one form or another of democracy, to one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and at one pace or another to the socialist transformations of the various aspects of social life."

Viktor Neznanov, in his "Logic of History," says that one of the extremes to which this important question is carried "consists of the fact that certain dogmatists, wrapping themselves in revolutionary phraseology, deny the peculiarities of the socialist revolution in different countries. They demand that the socialist transformations be carried out and that socialism be built in conformance with established plans forever, in the same form and using the same methods. This dogmatic point of view," Neznanov goes on to say, "paralyzes the revolutionary energy and initiative of the working masses, causing the proletarian revolutionary parties to transform themselves into organizations made up of persons without a critical sense who do not wish to see the enormous diversity of historical and national conditions in the various countries."

It is enough to add here, for the reader's better understanding, that extremists who are promoting the implementation of socialism along "foreign" models are represented in our country by a certain group of obsolete and outmoded intellectuals in which Maoists, Trotskyites and anarchists stand out, who, infiltrated into the ATC (Agricultural Workers Association) and the CST (Sandinist Workers Federation), are stubbornly engaged in blocking the economic recovery of Nicaragua in the fields and factories.

Lenin himself pointed out the danger of ignoring the unique conditions of one or another country and openly condemned every absurd effort to build socialism in accordance with a specific mold.

In our case, the National Directorate of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] issued a declaration which was published in PODER SANDINISTA on 27 December 1979 and which in part states: "This revolution is attempting to solve the social problems which confront it by attacking them in depth and without trying to imitate any country. Copying is not the pathway of the Sandinist revolution, of any revolution, because we have to solve the problems of our country just as we solved the problem of the dictatorship: by using our heads. No one is going to dictate our solutions; we must be capable of finding them."

And I say to my fellow countrymen that, as true Christians, there is no reason whatever for us to fear socialism, which is pointing out to us the only possible way for our people to rise out of the underdevelopment and poverty to which we were being subjected by foreign economic dependence acting hand-in-glove with the Somoza dictatorship. The well-known Brazilian archbishop, Helder Camara, writes on this subject in his ideological work, "Capitalism and Socialism": "Christians have the duty of demonstrating that the true socialism is nothing other than Christianity lived in an integral form, with an authentic distribution of wealth and true, fundamental equality. Rather than projecting our ire against that new system, let us discover in its structure a better form of social life adapted to our times and more in line with the evangelical spirit. In this way, we will keep many from identifying God and religion with those oppressors of the world of the poor and the workers, which capitalism and imperialism certainly are. Those inhuman systems have engendered others which, wishing to liberate peoples, have oppressed men by falling into totalitarian collectivism and religious persecution. God and true religion have nothing to do with the different forms in which mammon of the iniquities appears. Quite to the contrary, God and true religion are always on the side of those who attempt to promote a more just and fraternal society among all the children of God, the great human family."

And permit me to conclude with the well-known thought of Leo XIII: "If proclaiming the rights of the worker and defending the dignity of man is being a socialist, then I am a socialist."

8143
CSO: 3010

NICARAGUA

ATC HEAD DISCUSSES AGRARIAN REFORM

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 21 Apr 80 p 3

[Interview with the organizational secretary of the Agricultural Workers Association (ATC), Francisco Lopez; date and place not given]

(Text) We recently conducted an interview with Comrade Francisco Lopez, the organizational secretary of the ATC. In it he clarifies the ATC's stand with regard to idle land and reports on the organizational gains of Nicaraguan farm workers. We invite our public to read it carefully.

BARRICADA: What can you tell us about the organizational gains that the ATC has made since it was founded last December?

Francisco Lopez: After the Great National ATC Organizational Assembly, we have devoted ourselves to consolidating the organizational efforts that we have been promoting in all departments.

In January of this year we established a work program for ourselves and we also intend to promote departmental assemblies.

Based on this work, which was done during the last week in January and which aims at consolidating our organizational and political efforts throughout the country, departmental assemblies have been held in Masaya, Carazo, Leon, Matagalpa, Boaco and Esteli.

Ten assemblies remain to be held, and we will be undertaking them every week, especially on Sundays so as not to halt production.

Departmental Assemblies

BARRICADA: What is the purpose of the departmental assemblies?

Francisco Lopez: The goal of the assemblies is to set up a comprehensive, stable and permanent organizational structure, to lay the groundwork

for its subsequent strengthening in each department, which will enable us to consolidate our efforts and to pursue them more vigorously and energetically.

Another objective is to gradually groom the masses for revolutionary democracy, for example, participation, through their delegates, in the election of the departmental executive committee and in the keynote report delivered at these assemblies.

We also intend to gradually set up municipal committees. We began this work in April. The formation of municipal committees is very important because we will be getting to the grass roots, inasmuch as the departmental committees will be based on the municipal committees, and the latter, in turn, on the grass roots.

This is a pyramidal structure that will enable us to have a more objective leadership and more scientific work and to increasingly consolidate our organizational efforts among workers, and this will subsequently constitute a full-fledged, strong and dynamic machine that will really defend the interests of the workers.

We must promote our class organization, in light of the attacks that the most reactionary sectors of the bourgeoisie have been launching against our organization recently. These attacks indicate to us that we are on the right road.

It is to the extent that our organization is attacked by these recalcitrant sectors that we realize the work that we are pursuing, because we would be worried if the bourgeoisie and the oligarchical factions praised us.

100,000 Comrades in the ATC

BARRICADA: How many comrades are members of the ATC at this point?

Francisco Lopez: We can assert that our organization comprises approximately 100,000 comrades, and this number is going to go much higher, not just quantitatively but qualitatively as well. We have especially boosted the number of credit and services cooperatives, and we are currently doing intensive work with small cotton and coffee producers. We are also working with small cattle ranchers, who on 20 April held an assembly in Chontales to set up the small ranchers' cooperative in that department.

Because of these organizational efforts to benefit small producers, our comrades will no longer be fooled by the big producers who have tried to absorb them to add grist to their mills.

I can cite the specific case of the Central Cooperative of Matagalpa Coffee Growers, which has been deceiving and exploiting small growers, who have now begun to realize this by joining their class organization, the ATC.

What UPANIC [Union of Nicaraguan Agricultural-Livestock Producers] and the Central Cooperative of Matagalpa Coffee Growers are specifically worried about is that the ATC is working with small coffee, cotton and livestock producers, because they know that this is taking away the excessive profits that they used to make by exploiting small producers.

Serving Small Producers

BARRICADA: What mechanisms is the ATC using to serve small producers?

Francisco Lopez: The ATC is setting up a work division to take care of small producers, and we are giving special training to comrades at both the departmental and nationwide level for this purpose.

One of the main grievances of small farmers has had to do with credit, financing and technical assistance through PROCAMPO [Program for Peasant Development] and the National Development Bank and with getting food, inasmuch as many of them live in remote areas and have traditionally been the victims of speculators and usurers who sell them basic commodities at exorbitant prices.

In this regard, we are promoting consumer cooperatives that will be in charge of supplying basic commodities to the highlands at reasonable prices.

Furthermore, we have responded to the most deeply felt grievance of our small producers, releasing small grain growers from their debts with INVIERNO and cutting interest charges from between 14 and 18 percent to 6, 7 and 9 percent. It was thanks to the efforts of the ATC, not the big producers, that this grievance was satisfied.

BARRICADA: What organizational problems have you come up against?

Francisco Lopez: First, we were faced with the lack of organizational experience and tradition among farm workers because of repression under the dictatorship. Nevertheless, we have seen that they are very willing to organize.

Naturally, certain organizations such as FO, CTN [Federation of Nicaraguan Workers], CAUS [Center for Labor Unity and Action] and MORE [Revolutionary Workers Movement], with their ultraleftist and opportunistic stands, are trying to thwart our organization's gains in the fields.

In this connection, this year the ATC fought the production boycott efforts that several of these organizations were promoting. For example, in Chinandega and Leon we fought the FO and CUS [Confederation for Trade Union Unity], the CAUS in Nueva Segovia, the CNT in Granada and the MORE in Matagalpa and Jinotega.

In these departments we have opposed these organizations, which are urging peasant farmers to take over state or private lands. They are unscrupulous and therefore threaten our economy.

The problems that we face are caused by the resistance of reactionaries to our practice of pursuing a policy consistent with the revolution and of having a clear idea of what role farm workers are supposed to play in this revolution. We are not trying to air opportunistic or demagogical grievances that are not going to be satisfied, nor are we taking demagogical or radical approaches, because we know that the country currently needs to emerge from chaos and poverty.

Therefore, we have a plan of action which we are going to fight for. We are quite clear about this and so we are going to continue in this direction to consolidate the revolution.

The ATC Does Not Demagogically Encourage Land Takeovers

BARRICADA: Farm workers are faced with the problem of landownership. In this connection, does the ATC encourage takeovers?

Francisco Lopez: The ACT does not demagogically promote land takeovers by inciting our comrades to occupy estates.

However, we are aware of the need to redistribute the land and we realize that some people own large tracts of land, most of which they keep idle.

The ATC channels the just demands of workers, poor peasant farmers and semiproletarians who, faced with the need to survive, are trying to satisfy a natural grievance of theirs by taking over idle lands and making them produce.

We are currently faced with several problems, unemployment on the one hand and the production of basic grains on the other. So we do lend support when the demands are just, and we channel them, but we do not want such takeovers to be left up to the discretion of each individual; they must instead be carried out within the framework of true justice. Therefore, takeovers should be organized for collective production.

Idle Lands for Poor Peasant Farmers

BARRICADA: Isn't there the danger that the land takeovers will turn farm workers into peasant farmers again?

Francisco Lopez: If the takeovers are indiscriminate, there will come a time when we will no longer be able to control them, and this is exactly what organizations like the CTN, CUS and MORE are trying to do by aiming the takeovers at places where there is production, thus spreading chaos.

When the ATC channels just takeovers of idle lands, we make sure that the comrades involved in the takeover are not full-time farm workers but rather poor peasant farmers, semiproletarians who have been sharecroppers or farm hands, the ones who work part of the year harvesting export farm products and who use their wits to survive for the rest of the year.

These are the comrades whom we are encouraging to adopt this kind of farming on idle lands that are suited for basic grains and horticulture.

In the people's property sphere, the ATC is establishing agreements with the regional INRA [National Institute for Agrarian Reform] under which the institute makes available for collective use the lands that are not going to be utilized by state-run enterprises.

We would be converting our comrades into peasant farmers again, taking a step backward and turning back the clock if we gave lands to full-time workers.

Through our political and organizational efforts we are trying to create an awareness in and encourage our comrades to keep working after their last harvest is over, to the people's property farms or private farms to gather our farm exports.

8743

CSO: 3010

JUSTICE MINISTER DISCUSSES PENAL CODE REVISIONS

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 26 Apr 80 pp 1, 12

[Interview with Ernesto Castillo, minister of justice: "Revision of Penal Code Under Study"; date and place not given]

[Text] Managua, 21 Apr (ANN)—Ernesto Castillo, minister of justice, stated that the government junta has only been able to issue the most important decrees to provide legal backing to the profound transformations taking place in our revolutionary process.

AGENCIA NUEVA NICARAGUA interviewed Minister Castillo.

[Question] What is the relationship between the Ministry of Justice and the Supreme Court?

[Answer] According to the law that establishes the Ministry of Justice, the relationship is one of cooperation between the ministry and the Supreme Court of Justice. We help it supervise that the courts of justice apply the revolutionary laws according to the guidelines of the government junta; however, we are independent in our work. The court is an entity that imparts justice and we are an entity directly under the government junta.

[Question] What can you tell us about the organization of the justice system and the Penal Code?

[Answer] The entire Nicaraguan legal system was based on the interests of the dictatorship and the dominating classes. However, the government junta has only been able to issue the most necessary and important decrees to provide legal backing to the profound transformations taking place in Nicaragua. Basically, the legal framework of the previous system is still in effect. Therefore, the government junta has instructed us to form committees to work on the total revision of the principal bodies of laws in direct relationship with the principal projects of the revolutionary process. We are studying a revision of the Penal Code. Companeras from the Ministry of Social Welfare are studying all legal provisions that affect women. We are also working with the Ministry of Labor to revise the legal provisions

that regulate labor affairs. We are going to present the government junta with an overall plan of reforms but that takes time.

[Question] How are the prosecutions of businessmen who are decapitalizing enterprises going?

[Answer] It is necessary to point out two things about decapitalization. The law was promulgated a short while ago. There have not yet been any charges in court because we understand that the publication of the law itself made some businessmen stop the decapitalization maneuvers. In the event of decapitalization, the accusation goes to the regular judge who imposes an economic sanction on the enterprise. When directors or officials of enterprises hinder their operations, it is a crime under the emergency law with imprisonment for those responsible.

[Question] What penalties of imprisonment and fines are stipulated?

[Answer] Imprisonment ranges from 3 months to 2 years and the fines depend on the decapitalized amount. For the first offense, they must pay back a certain percentage and the second time the percentage increases. The economic sanctions are high.

[Question] How many businessmen seem to be decapitalizing?

[Answer] We have accusations against about 10 enterprises but these have not been made public yet because we first have to see if there are sufficient grounds to officially present the charges.

[Question] Where is the flight of capital going?

[Answer] In general, this involves people who, in one way or another, are transferring their capital to the United States or to subsidiary enterprises in Guatemala.

[Question] What actions will be taken against those who boycott production?

[Answer] The emergency law and the public order law impose imprisonment for those who boycott production, hindering the normal operations of the enterprises; they are given 3 months to 2 years in jail. The penalty is more severe for those who criminally attack production through sabotage, etc.

[Question] What could you tell us about the people from the communist party who have been arrested?

[Answer] Some members of the communist party or people who say they are communists who hindered the normal operations of the enterprises by inciting illegal strikes will be charged in court if their responsibility is confirmed.

[Question] What about problems between the courts and the police?

[Answer] These are normal problems of lack of coordination between the judicial authorities and the police authorities. We believe that they will be solved very soon. We have just formed a committee with the Supreme Court of Justice, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Interior. It will try to solve these problems of lack of coordination between the judicial branch and the police.

7717

CSO: 3010

LITERACY CAMPAIGN TOPICS DISCUSSED

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 28 Mar 80 p 3

[Commentary: "Literacy Lesson"]

[Text] The victory of the Sandinist Popular Revolution has given us a fatherland which is free and our own, which we must rebuild from its foundations in accordance with the interests of the Nicaraguan people and not pursuant to the interests of imperialism and the exploitive minorities.

The problems and shortages we will have to endure for a certain period are not the fault of the Sandinist Popular Revolution but rather are an inheritance from the Somoza regime.

We inherited three disasters:

- a) A country with an economy dependent upon imperialism. We have an economy which was organized in accordance with the interests and at the pace of the capitalism of imperialist countries. We are basically dependent agricultural exporters. To change this will require a certain amount of time; however, only by changing that structure will we be totally free.
- b) A country organized by the Somoza regime pursuant to the interests of foreign capital, the Somozas and a minority of persons ready to betray their country.
- c) A country whose factories, hospitals, schools, houses, etc. were destroyed by the dictatorship through genocidal attacks. Add to this the fact that we are changing our methods of production, our methods of distributing products and our methods of consumption. This transition involves special sacrifices.

Freedom is costly. We still have not attained it completely. We have already made a beginning; however, we are still at war with everything that we inherited from centuries of exploitation. We will only achieve total victory with organization, work and discipline.

To be a revolutionary is to organize our production to the maximum. This means producing as much as possible with the least possible cost. This cannot be done unless it is with a great spirit of organization. We have to eradicate all the old vices which we inherited: disorder, improvisation, etc. The War of National Liberation involved much effort; however, we cannot cross our arms nor can we rest. We have not finished the job. We must work as hard or harder than during the popular insurrection. As for the revolution, in addition to the traditional schedule, there is the schedule which my revolutionary conscience dictates to me. Every day we should ask ourselves: How much can I still do today for the liberation and reconstruction of our homeland?

Before the victory of the Sandinist Popular Revolution, discipline was necessary for the liberation struggle. Now it continues to be very necessary for the national reconstruction struggle. This is not a mechanical and sorrowful discipline. Revolutionary discipline is the product of impassioned love by the people; they are full of initiative and a healthy but not individualistic critical spirit.

Outline for the writing of theme 11:

"With the organization of labor and discipline, we will succeed in building the Sandinist fatherland."

I. Read the theme carefully and complete the following:

- a. Nicaragua is ours and free as the result of the _____.
- b. The reconstruction of Nicaragua will be accomplished by thinking about its _____ and not _____.

II. Enumerate:

a. The disasters inherited from the Somoza regime:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

b. The means by which we will be permitted to be victorious:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

c. Some of the vices we must eradicate:

- 1.
- 2.

III. Answer:

Why do we say that our economy was dependent?

Of what does the maximum organization of our production consist?

What efforts are demanded of us by the revolution?

8143

CSO: 3010

COMMENTATOR QUESTIONS ARTISTIC CENSORSHIP

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 10 Apr 80 p 2

[Commentary by Carlos Chamorro Coronel: "Deerhunt or Witchhunt?"]

[Excerpts] "It is forbidden to forbid." Motto of the May Revolution in Paris 1968.

With the utmost astonishment and even consternation I was informed a short time ago by BARRICADA (23 March 1980) that the movie classification committee which, as I understand it, is attached to the Ministry of Culture, had banned "The Deerhunter" because it was considered derogatory to the dignity of the Vietnamese people.

In reality, I cannot judge, since I have not seen it (I was not allowed to see it); however, in principle, I am opposed to all kinds of censorship when it comes to art. Otherwise, we would unfailingly fall into cultural Stalinism, which is very dangerous and of enormous concern to me.

Art, all art, is par excellence free and can only exist in an atmosphere of freedom. It can survive but always in a clandestine way, as happened here previously.

During the Somoza regime, movies by Costa Carvas, such as "Z" and "State of Siege," were banned. It would truly be very sad and regrettable if we were to make the same mistake. Artistic censorship not only offends our intelligence and sensibility but also and above all our human dignity because it reduces us to the status of minors, who are incapable of judging for ourselves. Although there is reading and writing illiteracy, let us not add to it artistic illiteracy. The not-so-holy cultural inquisition also belongs to the past.

8143

CSO: 3010

CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ COMPARED TO ARGENTINA'S PERON

Caracas BOHEMIA in Spanish 28 Apr-4 May 80 pp 18-22

[Article by Humberto J. Hernandez: "We Want Carlos Andres Just the Way He Is"]

[Text] Juan Domingo Peron achieved a kind of fanatical popularity which, far from declining over the years, grew to such an extent that the imprint left behind is already sufficiently recorded in the history of Argentina.

Contrary to the opinion of some members of parliament, who say that former President Carlos Andres Perez sank to some very low levels during the last 3 hours and 20 minutes of his impeachment proceedings during the joint session of the legislative chambers sitting in judgment of him, and contrary to the fact that, as is public knowledge, the National Congress had already agreed on the charges and was ready to come out with a verdict condemning him, the general opinion is that it would be difficult--for anybody who would want to do so--to achieve the goal of wiping him out politically with the homicidal weapon of "Sierra Nevada."

Although the reaction in his support came through a progressive series of delayed actions, it is true that if, right now, a public opinion survey were to be conducted to measure the degree of popularity of former President Perez, it is almost certain that the results would show that we are facing the explosion of a political phenomenon, such as those created in Argentina by Juan Domingo Peron and in Colombia by Gen Gustavo Rojas Pinilla.

Peron produced a kind of irrational fanaticism which, far from declining over the years, grew so tremendously that the imprint left behind is already sufficiently deep in the history and daily life of Argentina. We must not forget either that the masses came up with little ditties which they kept chanting, such as the following: "With Peron/even though they may judge him to be a crook." We do not want to draw any offensive analogies but any well-informed political analyst will say that the slogans chanted in front of the National Congress, on Monday of last week, when

Carlos Andres Perez delivered his memorable speech, were highly significant. Below a photograph of his, the caption read: "We want Carlos Andres just the way he is."

The case of Gen Rojas Pinilla is no less significant. Here we had a sister nation that experienced a drama of its own, the idealistic adventure of M-19 and the seizure of the embassy of the Dominican Republic, where more than 19 diplomats are still hostages, including Venezuela's own ambassador, Virgilio Lovera, and Consul Francisco Pacheco. Right now, more than 2 months after the bold and daring commando operation, whose multiplying effect has turned into a kind of ecumenical political sounding board, it is still too early to predict the outcome of this modern odyssey at the home of the Dominican diplomatic mission. It seems that, from his grave, the old Colombian military leader, once mocked and reviled, is still fighting against real or imagined injustice committed through him in the name of a democracy that was systematically challenged.

He Will Have To Be "Gowned"

Until the moment Carlos Andres Perez spoke up in his own defense, in a kind of act of exculpation, in addressing the legislative chambers, there were positions that were firmly adopted and there were desires that were induced with sophisms and tailor-made truths. But now, running counter to the parliamentary decision, after people had a chance to listen to or read the lengthy statement by the former President of the Republic, there are many who give him the benefit of the doubt because his language was direct and convincing in rejecting not only the conclusions contained in the report of the Special Commission of the Chamber of Deputies which investigated the acquisition of "Sierra Nevada," as well as the content of the speech delivered by the chairman of that commission, Deputy Ramon Tenorio Sifontes.

This opinion was sustained, contrary to those who think that former President Perez dropped to very low levels in his statements before the Congress. Many of those who praised the speech by the senator-for-life as being extraordinary, as if to underscore their approval, resort to hyperbolic expression to indicate that Carlos Andres will have to be "gowned."

"I did not come here," said CAP [Carlos Andres Perez] in the final portion of his speech, "to defend only my name but also the chief executive who received the historical backing of his party, the Democratic Action Party, when he was its standard bearer and brought it to the presidency of Venezuela; he also received the support of the Venezuelan people who rewarded him with their votes and elevated him to the post of chief executive of the Republic. I have no intention of making any irreverent

comparisons, such as those which were presented in an effort to extol me when I was at the very summit of power, by those who are my bitter and virulent adversaries today, whose excesses reached the most ridiculous proportions. But I must say that, because I know our history and world history, I am not unaware, in the political game, of the tremendous efforts involved in poisonous passions which are irreconcilable with just plain common sense. We know that rancor and ingratitude, vilification and denial have been the usual reward. A tremendous political job was never advanced without a measure of bitterness and anger."

He added that, for his own personal tranquillity, all he needed was a correct verdict which would be in keeping with his conscience; and he assured his audience as to the absolute certainty of his own probity because he never denied that he made mistakes. Furthermore, he thinks that he perhaps made many mistakes because to err is human and because unfortunately no works of man are perfect although Venezuela knows only too well that his action was intensive, accelerated, and dynamic as well as honest and positive.

"I will be responsible for my actions," he said, "in whatever field and, from this tribune of national sovereignty, I denounce this concerted effort of nauseating and unconfessable hatred aimed at driving a wedge between the people and the most successful political executive organization in the entire republican history of the country, the party which is the safest, most sincere and proven instrument of its development, the guarantor of the effectiveness of its aspirations and its real and immediate hopes; this effort is also aimed at striking directly at its leader who, with the largest number of votes, won the responsible position of chief of state."

Tenorio Speech

Quite naturally, former President Perez devoted a large part of his presentation to the effort fundamentally to reject the conclusions of the so-called "Tenorio Report." "But now," CAP lamented, "I must also address myself to the speech by Deputy Ramon Tenorio Sifontes, chairman of the Special Investigating Commission.

"Although this is a repetition of what I have already said about the proven facts, this is the first charge made against me to the effect that the purchase of the vessel was neither necessary, nor urgent. A vessel which cost the nation 86 million bolivares was used only when it was sent from Oslo to pick up a cargo of approximately 2 million kilograms of frozen chickens at the German port of Hamburg and the Spanish port of Vigo; and when it arrived in Venezuela, it ran aground in La Guaira; it took one month to unload and it was never used again; I believe that it was hidden for a long time in the Orinoco, the Caroni or the San Felix; and that is where the ship began to fall apart. What negligence on the part of the

commission in investigating that situation! I must dwell on this problem a little while so that we may see what the real situation is.

"Here we have Admiral Larrazabal who knows that we are maintaining what is called the ship's log and that this record shows everything that a particular vessel does. The logical thing for the Special Commission to do would have been to ask for the ship's records and that would have shown that the ship arrived, tied up at the pier, unloaded the chickens, and was then sent to such and such a location."

Former President Perez then refuted one of the obscure points in the speech by Deputy Tenorio who frequently was the target of shouts from the galleries, such as "grab the ball, Tenorio," "Tenorio, you have already lost the ministry that was in your future," "Tenorio, you have sold yourself down the river," etc. These arguments--well-reasoned with elementary logic and reference to testimony--clearly revealed that there were major omissions, half-truths, and concealment of some fundamental facts in the preparation of the report as well as in the supporting material for the speech by the commission chairman.

Manichean Practices

In a passage in his extensive presentation, former President Perez raised some specific points on the presidential stewardship of Dr Rafael Caldera. He said that, when he took over as the country's chief executive, there was anxiety and tremendous preoccupation in Venezuela over the charges of corruption against the preceding administration:

"But I had no intention whatsoever," CAP said, "to exploit the general relaxation of morality in government during the prior administration. I did not practice and we never practiced manicheanism: virtue in us, shame in our adversaries. But there is no doubt that, during my administration, we put an end to the concealment of crimes against persons because I believe that the foundation of honesty must consist of integral and not partial conduct. I mentioned situations that arose earlier. We received--as we said at the time--with interest and with satisfaction, during the administration prior to mine, the establishment of the Complaint Commission in the Office of the President of the Republic. But here is what happened then: 6,000 cases before that commission were simply burned or taken to private files."

He then touched on the purchase of the petroleum tankers "Independencia I" and "Independencia II," tied in with a rather shady deal which the government made sure it would not discover. He also mentioned the problem of the vanishing prisoners; and he confirmed that, when he learned that the CIA was operating in certain government agencies, he ordered them closed down

because they had even managed to get a foothold in a military unit. He also related an anecdote which he called historical, according to which the President of the FERROSTAL enterprise--a company that built the SIDOR rolled products plant in Guayana--confided to Engr Luis Hernandez, at that time President of SIDOR, following the death of the president of the VESALPINO enterprise, that it was the consortium which was watching over everything and which controlled the execution of the construction work on the rolled products plant; according to the confession by the president of FERROSTAL, his worry came from the fact that the deceased had been responsible for the payment of commissions and that there was a shortage of several millions that had to be turned over and he (the president of FERROSTAL) did not know to whom to hand the money over. Former President Perez indicated that he informed the German ambassador about this case at the time (1974), as well as Dr Pedro Pablo Aguilar and Dr Eduardo Fernandez.

"Honesty," CAP emphasized, "is an integral concept. I repeat, we cannot accept any half measures; this means that we must not be manichean, nor must we consider man as a perfect being. We are human beings and we make mistakes and we must admit that but we must not try to hold on to a pharisaic concept of honesty."

Social Christian Party Delegation Apologizes to Caldera

Before concluding his remarks, former President Perez said that he could not fail to make a personal reference to a leader of Venezuelan democracy, a former President of the Republic, like he himself.

"My conscience forces me," CAP said, "to mention him because, in some statements to an important Caracas daily, he referred to me in rather inconsiderate terms and he showed himself to be one of those who are painfully contributing to this infamous campaign which seeks to demolish me morally and to present me as somebody who cleaned the public administration out. With all of the repugnance which this produces in me, because we are not helping, we are not contributing toward the strength of our democratic institution, when, on the higher levels and especially among those of us who were presidents of the Republic, instead of placing ourselves above the routine debate of the parties, we get involved in this way, in a fight where you have to think very carefully about what you say and how you say it, former President Caldera (at this point, the members of parliament of the Social Christian Party delegation stood up and wildly applauded as an expression of appreciation toward their top leader) for whom I have always expressed respect and consideration, did not have to get involved in this inconsiderate and direct manner in an issue which has not been definitely resolved; and when he was asked whether he believed that former President of the Republic Carlos Andres Perez was directly mixed up in dishonest manipulations connected with the purchase of the 'Sierra Nevada,' he replied: 'Do you know that the water is clear and that the moon shines?'

That would seem to be a rather evasive answer but we all know that this was a direct response and that is how everybody understood it. The respect which former President Caldera deserves from me and all citizens is the same respect which we deserve from former President Caldera."

To conclude his controversial address, former President Carlos Andres Perez said that we are now witnessing in the nation's life a flood of mimics who write pornographic books, pamphlets, magazines, and stories seeking to speed up and broaden the serious contradiction society is experiencing in our time.

"These are the people whom I call obscene cynics," he said. "But the thing that worries and moves our spirit and our conscience is the use of those obscene cynics by those whom, in my speech here, I would call the intelligent cynics."

Earlier, almost at the beginning, he had made this point: "I said--and I am sure of what I am saying--that this is a plot which has been developing with perversity and evil in an effort to destroy me, first of all, morally and then in an effort to drag me into the courts of justice." This possibility of course is open and apparently quite real because, on the assumption that this rebuff actually comes about, we could then with greater propriety say that Venezuelan justice is now giving birth to a political phenomenon which, for better or worse as far as Venezuela is concerned, has already materialized in Argentina through Peron, and in Colombia through Gen Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, precisely because of the unfortunate political judgments to which they were subjected in an effort to destroy them.

We pointed out objectively that many people, after listening to or reading the statement made by Carlos Andres Perez in his own defense, gave him the benefit of the doubt regarding the juggling of truth and reason, regarding the use of half-truths and sophisms in this political trial which took place here. Especially when, in this carnival of praise, we find a contrast being drawn between the virginal purity of consecrated honesty, on the one hand, and the weight and volume of repeated accusations, on the other hand. Not in vain did the former President, now harassed and reviled, conclude his self-defense speech in the following manner:

"I face a conspiracy of slander with the clean weapon of absolute truth. I never made a mistake voluntarily. I never prevaricated. I did not break the oath I took on the solemn occasion of my inauguration to the effect that I would make sure that the constitution and the laws of the Republic would be respected, implemented, and obeyed. Here I resist and I respond to my adversaries and my enemies. I shall stand firmly on the strength of my unalterable principles."

SEGMENT OF MILITARY DESIRES GREATER POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Caracas BOHEMIA in Spanish 21-27 Apr 80 pp 52-56

[Article by Humberto J. Hernandez: "Military Wants To Vote"]

[Text] During the recent International Conference on Military Law and Martial Law, Lt Col Antonio Varela presented a report with an important polemical content. He considered it unjust that Article 111 of the Constitution provides for voting, in municipal elections, by foreigners and that an amendment has even been introduced to give naturalized Venezuelans the same rights as native-born Venezuelans; but nothing has been done to put an end to a situation where the military man in effect is a citizen without such rights.

The National Armed Forces--according to Article 132 of the National Constitution--constitute an apolitical, obedient and nondeliberative institution, organized by the state to provide national defense, stability of democratic institutions, and respect for the Constitution and the laws, whose observance will always be above any other obligation. The National Armed Forces are in the service of the Republic and, in no case, in the service of a person or a political grouping."

The essence of this constitutional provision was spelled out for the first time in the Constitution of 1819, 161 years ago, when the Liberator Simon Bolivar, with his guiding genius, fully familiar with the complex Venezuelan idiosyncrasy, felt that "the public force is essentially obedient and no armed body can deliberate." Since then, this constitutional provision has been upheld constantly in our republican life.

But the vision of the Liberator, by way of premonition, grasped the need for separating the civilian and military commands. In this sense, he stated the following in a letter addressed to Antonio Narino on 21 April 1821: "I am firmly convinced that the government should be headed by someone who is not a soldier, such as I am, always on the frontier; and I am also convinced that the army command and the command of the Republic

should be separated; I request my resignation so that both you and the other good citizens may accept it." The following statement by the liberator is in line with similar Bolivarian ideas: "A military man virtually has the only mission of devoting himself to his professional military career."

Second-Class Venezuelans?

But now, after more than 150 years, a new doctrine is coming up for discussion within the military establishment itself, regarding complete and/or more active military participation in the country's institutional life and in the national development plan; someone has even suggested the need for demanding some rights for the military in order to extricate the military from an alleged status as second-class citizens, elevating them to the enjoyment of the full political rights spelled out in the National Constitution.

A spokesman for this concern was Lt Col Antonio Varela, a communications electronics engineer and an officer of the faculty at the Military School who, during the recent International Conference on Military Law and Martial Law, presented a report on human rights in Venezuela and their relationship with military legislation.

"Depriving the military man of political rights," it says in the statement by Lieutenant Colonel Varela, "means keeping him out of the democratic process and that creates a situation of inequality before the law, an injustice that harms the interests of Venezuelan society because it is depriving itself of the contribution which a portion of that society, the National Armed Forces, can make in the democratic process and in the country's overall development."

And the writer adds: "The President of the Republic is the Commander-in-Chief of the National Armed Forces and he exercises all their political rights."

Lieutenant Colonel Varela emphasized that depriving the military man of political rights means keeping him out of the democratic process. This--according to his judgment--runs counter to the idea of human rights because we are all equal before the law, not only in terms of our duties but also in terms of the enjoyment of our rights. Like any other professional man, the military man is a qualified Venezuelan. So--he asks--why deny him access to public office? In our countries, where we have a shortage of high-level professional men, in the numbers required by the public administration, we must not downgrade the contribution which the soldier can make as a disciplined, methodical professional man with experience in making rational decisions.

"Keeping the military man out of the country's democratic administration," he added later on, "means segregating him and this is much more harmful to the system than making him share in the responsibility for the system's management. It seems unfair that Article 111 of the Constitution should provide a vote in city elections for foreigners and that an amendment has even been introduced to give naturalized Venezuelans the same rights as native-born Venezuelans while nothing has been done to put an end to a situation where the military man is a citizen without such rights."

Lieutenant Colonel Varela in his statement described the situation of the military man "with greater duties than any other citizen but with limited rights," throughout an analysis contained in 10 points on the "human rights situation, the constitution, and military legislation." He pointed out that the study conducted here revealed that there are norms in military legislation which are not in keeping with those corresponding to the Constitution, nor some of them contained in the International Civil and Political Rights Agreement, nor in the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man.

For example, the officer said, "the military man, as a citizen and as a human being, is restricted in terms of certain rights. Among them we might single out the following: freedom of expression, freedom of association, and all political rights."

In this respect, he issued the following warning: "The Armed Forces are an integral part of Venezuelan society and anything that pertains to the society (duties or rights) also pertains to the Armed Forces." He feels that, in a government of laws, the norms established in military legislation must not conflict with the norms of the State.

"The Armed Forces," the officer added, "cannot be apolitical since their mission is political and since their functions are political. Apoliticism, mentioned in Article 132 of the Constitution, must be interpreted as non-partisanship (as explained in Article 115 of the Garrison Service Regulations). For similar reasons, the idea of nondebilitation owes its interpretation to the fact that it is supposed to refer only to questions of partisan politics. Otherwise, it would be in open contradiction to the final portion of the 2nd paragraph, Article 66, of the Constitution, establishing that "the analysis for criticism of legal precepts cannot be restricted" and cannot run counter to the freedom of expression provided for in Article 66 itself.

Lieutenant Colonel Varela recalls that interaction between the military and the political institutions is a phenomenon rooted in the history of the fatherland and is intertwined with the very roots of our nationality.

Zero Reaction

In spite of the fact that the statements contained in the report by Lt Col Antonio Varela were disclosed during the last days of March, no political party made any comments on the polemical topics put up for discussion during the International Conference on Military Law and Martial Law held recently here in Caracas. Only Dr Jose Vicente Rangel--the former presidential candidate of the MAS (Movement for Socialism), on an entirely personal basis, affirmed his certainly well-defined position on this subject. Dr Rangel is in favor of giving the members of the National Armed Forces an opportunity for greater political participation, extending to them those rights which are currently denied them, starting with the right to vote.

"At the same time," said JVR [Jose Vicente Rangel], "we must broaden the radius of activity of the officers of the Armed Forces so that they may participate in administrative and investigative tasks under equal conditions with the civilians."

Dr Rangel is of the opinion that Venezuela has a shortage of management personnel, of skills, and cannot afford the luxury of confining an institution as important as the Armed Forces to a passive role within the development process. He therefore thinks that the Congressional Committee on Amendments to the Constitution, of which he is a member, should analyze the situation over the next several months.

"This is a topic," said Dr Rangel, "which must be debated because it is polemical and of very great interest and there are undoubtedly opposing positions here; but clarifying positions must precisely emerge from the debate."

He is also of the opinion that the traditional precept, as contained in the Constitution of 1961 "is a product of the reluctance among the civilian establishment in dealing with the military establishment and that may have been justified in the past but today it is incompatible with what the country is now."

He also believes that the role of the Armed Forces within the country's development cannot be passive since the Venezuelan Officer Corps has had very advanced professional and technical training in recent times. For these and other basic reasons he always advocated the idea that Venezuela must redefine the role of the National Armed Forces because the latter cannot continue to be subject to some formalist criteria which are outdated because of the requirements of development.

The "FAN [National Armed Forces]," says Jose Vicente, "can have a more operational and dynamic institutional presence but this need not lead to

the kind of mechanism which very often has caused them to erupt beyond the constitutional framework. Only the integration of the PAN with the nation, the coordination of policies within this democratic framework, the participation of the military establishment without any kind of fear whatsoever will serve the purpose of strengthening the country and the national army.

It Would Be Highly Dangerous To Experiment

Another opinion, certainly very authoritative, but also given purely on a personal basis, since the individual involved does not represent any political opinion, was expressed by Dr Eloy Laros Martinez, former Governor of the Sucre State, former minister of labor, former attorney general of the nation, a qualified jurist and the number one man in the Academy of Political and Social Sciences.

"I believe," he said, "that the principle, according to which the Armed Forces must be obedient and nondeliberative, must be upheld in our Constitution. Over the past 20 years, the military establishment has displayed an exemplary attitude. The government in reality was run by the President of the Republic, with all of the considerations due to the army's officer corps; he made decisions which he considered pertinent, except for those that were related to sovereignty. It would be highly dangerous to say now that the military establishment should have a deliberative character. I am not in favor of giving the military the vote. I believe that the officers have no such aspirations. The army has played an extraordinary role in supporting the democratic system and it has no aspirations to participate in the country's political life on the level of the political parties."

As for the new national defense doctrines involving the entire country, since national defense is not confined only to the military establishment but consists of interaction between the economy, politics, culture, and the national identity, as well as independence and the recovery of our basic resources, this does not mean that the overall concept of development should necessarily lead to equal rights and duties for civilians and military in the other areas. That is what Dr Laros Martinez thinks when he says the following in talking about the topic of national defense:

"This means that all sectors of the national community are forced to cooperate with the Armed Forces concerning the defense of the country. This is different from a situation where the military would participate in strictly political phenomena."

Military Legislation Committee Chairman Expresses Opinion

Contrary to what would have happened if Venezuela had not had a democratic system, based on law and the full enjoyment of broad public liberties, the statement by Lt Col Antonio Varela, during the International Conference on Military Law and Martial Law, was viewed with interest but with a realistic approach and did not cause any stir in our military establishment, although many of the things commented upon by its author "are based on very old legislation," as one can tell from the information supplied on that score by Brig Gen Rosendo Natera Moncada, a lawyer and chairman of the Military Legislation and Regulations Committee, who indicated that the Defense Ministry submitted a bill to the National Congress for the total revision of the law establishing the National Armed Forces. General Natera furthermore at the time congratulated Lieutenant Colonel Varela "because, without being a lawyer, he did a fine job in analyzing what he thought was not good and should be changed."

The statement by Lieutenant Colonel Varela furthermore did not take the high military officers by surprise in view of the fact that it was read in public and had previously been communicated to the Organizing Committee of the International Conference on Military Law and Martial Law. On the other hand, when it was submitted to the delegates of that conference for consideration, most of them agreed that political rights must not yet be granted to the military and that the Armed Forces must continue to be neutral on that matter. Gen Natera Moncada's opinion is also quite convincing on that point:

"Politics in the barracks is incompatible with the function of the Armed Forces. We do believe that the idea to the effect that the Venezuelan military should not vote--since this in effect is not a right denied by the National Constitution--could at a given moment lead to a demand for the repeal of the corresponding article in the Voting Law which is the law that introduces this restriction.

In this sense, Gen Natera Moncada indicated that anybody who feels that we have already evolved sufficiently within this democratic experience may demand the repeal of that article. But he introduced a reservation to the effect that there is no interest in that right now.

"We cannot see," he added, "how, through a bill for the total reform of the Law Establishing the Armed Forces, we could influence or sufficiently motivate the materialization of that modification or the rescission in the Voting Law. The attorneys must realize that we are not going to rescind an article in a voting law, something which is entirely different from the Law Establishing the Armed Forces, although anybody can exercise his rights as a citizen and demand that this article be declared null and void."

Gen Natera Moncada implicitly also--in some press statements--responded to some of the points made in the report by Lieutenant Colonel Varela. For example, regarding the emphasis on freedom of expression, on the restriction in taking up certain topics, especially those pertaining to national politics and questions on which the military can express opinions, he said:

"There has indeed been emphasis on freedom of expression; and in the amendment to the Law Establishing the Armed Forces, the military man is given freedom of expression regarding culture, sports, the social environment, etc. He is restricted with relation to militant politics, party politics, and the specific affairs of the Armed Forces, as well as military policy which is exclusively within the purview of the Ministry of Defense, as the number one spokesman of the Armed Forces, and the President of the Republic, as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. In all other fields, the officer can talk about anything. We entertained a consideration which seemed just to us because nowadays the ignorance of many is covered up by the precept to the effect that they cannot talk about it; thus perhaps we are forcing ourselves to exceed our own standards in order to be able actively to participate in the society in which we live."

As for the statement to the effect that the military are not given an opportunity in the executive branch and regarding important positions in the public administration, Gen Natera Moncada was quite emphatic in saying:

"That is perhaps easier to demonstrate. We might ask ourselves (in a reference to the military), each one of us in our own service: Do we have enough officers so that we can carry out all of the specific missions within the military establishment? And the answer has to be: no. The answer undoubtedly is no. We are trained to pursue a military career and the Armed Forces need us to carry out our military functions. However, when the President of the Republic considered it necessary to separate an officer from his specific assignment in order to place him in a public position, he did so and there were no problems of any kind; we have had the good fortune, in most cases, that they came out, covered with glory. But the real cause why we do not have a large number of military men in public office is because the military have their functions in the barracks, that they are trained to carry out their duties there, and that we do not have enough military men anyway so that we cannot detail them to civil service jobs."

The Military Vote

In his position paper, Lieutenant Colonel Varela says that it is unjust for Article 111 of the Constitution to provide a vote for foreigners in city elections and that a reform has been proposed to give naturalized Venezuelans the same rights as native-born Venezuelans; on the other hand, nothing has been done to put an end to a situation where the military man is a citizen without such rights.

On this polemical statement, Gen Natera Moncada said that both issues-- the right to vote for naturalized citizens and the constitutional amendment guaranteeing--if it passes--equal rights to naturalized citizens, must be tied in with what he said earlier:

"It is the Voting Law (Article 7, final portion: 'The members of the Armed Forces do not vote so long as they are on active military service') which places upon us the restrictions with regard to the right to vote and the possibility for the military to vote. A member of the military establishment can vote only if the article in the Voting Law is rescinded."

He recalled that political activities are not permitted in the Armed Forces; not even the reform bill contemplates that because the issue is left up exclusively to the President of the Republic, as commander-in-chief, and the minister of defense, as the highest representative of the Armed Forces in political aspects.

On the other hand, and more emphatically, Gen Natera Moncada noted that a cadet and an officer consequently, as part of a contract entered in prior to his induction, accepts certain standards, including the provision to the effect that he cannot be politically active.

It is possible that the polemical statements contained in the position paper by Lt Col Antonio Valera . might lead to profound reflection on these important issues since he brings up the entire situation of human rights in the international community, the country's political maturity, and the contemporary democratic tradition of the Armed Forces as significant arguments in stressing the fairness and need for giving the military the rights which have been denied them. But one can also expect reactions in terms of demands for equality regarding military personnel procedures, calling for special courts, particular forms of judgment and regulations, since Lieutenant Colonel Varela claims the constitutional precept of equality before the law. Or perhaps we are once again dealing here with that old "aphorism": Some are more equal than others."

305H

CSO: 3010

EVOLUTION OF FOURTH DEMOCRATIC ACTION SPLIT CONSIDERED

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 22 Apr 80 p C-1

[Article by Jesus Sanoja Hernandez: "The Great Disasters of Democratic Action or Fear of the Fourth Division"]

[Text] About 13 years ago, under the pen name of Pablo Montilla, I wrote three reports about the possible third division of Democratic Action and I supplied abundant data on the lineups, the September computations, and the party bosses. Nobody answered me except for three persons: Gumerindo Rodriguez, who, in a letter to Ramon J. Velasquez, assured him that he had not been anything more than the spokesman for a collective decision in the leadership of the MIR [Movement of the revolutionary Left]--he was of course referring to the famous editorial on the "insurrection"; Sader Perez, to make it clear to me that he was not an organized member of the future MEP [People's Electoral Movement] since at that time he was the president of an autonomous institute; and an APRA [American Revolutionary Popular Alliance] member whose name I do not want to recall, nor should I.

Three Prior Splits in Democratic Action Party

But Democratic Action split as predicted, not by the prophetic gift of us newsmen, but rather in line with the current of history. And to predict this kind of split you needed to be only halfway informed about the events inside what, first of all, Betancourt, with self-exaltation and Moises Moleiro, afterwards, with irritation, called "the party of the people." That is how easy the prediction appeared in 1967 as in 1960 or in 1962. By the way, that is not the topic. Rather, the topic is the contingency of a fourth split in Democratic Action.

This time it would be completely different from the three prior splits because the MIR split was ideological-generational; the ARS or PRG split was generational-pragmatic-apparatusist, and the MEP [People's Electoral Movement] split was multigenerational and catastrophic. The first two of these were devoid of any electoral significance but the third one threatened to destroy that historical party which the AD [Democratic

Action Party] had been and to impose the diabolical figure of Prieto, "the last of the Mohicans," as he was called by a young charismatic leader of the PCV [Communist Party of Venezuela] who later on became a dissident. If there had not been the independent and coldly Bogotan-Londonese figure of Burelli Rivas, the President of the Republic during the term of 1969-1974 would not have been Rafael Caldera but Luis Beltrán Prieto Figueroa, and certainly this would not have signified a cataclysm for Gonzalo Barrios who was equidistant and serene throughout a rather tempestuous life, although this would have been true of Romulo Betancourt, the leader who did not lay down the crown.

What Kind of Party Is This?

Among the many dictionary definitions which Tierno Galvan has come up with for the political parties, that is, the Spanish socialist professor whom Jovito honored some time ago in Casa Mar, we have the following: a mass party, a party of cadres, a democratic party, a dominant party, a populist party, a party of economic interests, and a single party. It seems incredible, but AD combines the characteristics of all of those typical parties: the party of the masses because there has never been another party that got almost 80 percent of the votes, like AD; a party of cadres because it sprang from the underground PDN [National Democratic Party], because it was the party that was built by Betancourt, Leoni, Prieto, Montilla, Perez Salinas, Anzola Anzola, Barrios, Valmore Rodriguez, and the younger ones, such as Dubuc, Ruiz Pineda, Carnevali and Carlos Andres Perez; a democratic party because, from the very first moment onward, in the face of the cell organization of the PCV, it imposed the assembly system--something which rather polemically was labelled a "political club"--and it included in its program the idea of multiclassism which, by definition, entailed a variety of opinions; a dominant party because, during its finest moments, it embodied the dominant ideology, the ideology that was accepted lovingly, without rejection, and that turned into millions of ballots at the polling places and ran through the interstices of social thinking; a populist party because, in its characterization, it defined itself as a popular party and tried to satisfy the momentary taste of the masses--the party of the people!; a party of economic interests because, during a phase in its development, it placed itself in the service of the powerful factors of the bourgeoisie and the transnationals; a single party because until 1968 it shone as such, Mexican-style.

Carlos Andres Perez or the Reaction Against the Father

Today, AD is each of those parties but without the emotion of yesterday. It is the sum of three splits, the strangest algebraic operation in present-day Venezuela--hence the splinter parties which Tierno Galvan talks about, such as the MIR, the FDP [Popular Democratic Force], the MEP, and the old PRN [Nationalist Revolutionary Party], and it is the multiplication

of an internal crisis in which any prediction is useless. Forged amid the contemporary confrontation by the antagonism between Betancourt and Carlos Andres Perez, its ramification will not inevitably follow the dividing line between the supporters of one or the other protagonist but will instead follow its own flow during the apocalyptic hours. In those situations, as we know, there arise, out of fear of the final earthquake, certain conciliatory positions, certain neither-nor groups, certain liaison commissions and intermediate currents. For the first time in the tormented course of the representative AD system, the game is agreed upon for the future. Before that, it was agreed upon for the past: that the anti-imperialist program of the PDN would not be carried out, that one would or would not agree on the coalition with the archetypal enemy - the Social Christian Party--or that the candidate would be Gonzalo Barrios or Prieto. Now, this is definitely not so: the polarization between Betancourt and CAP [Carlos Andres Perez], a former founder-president and a former builder-president, teacher, and disciple is a classical reactionary opposition: Monagas against Paez, Crespo against Guzman, Gomez against Castro, and Medina against Lopez.

The only thing is that this time it is taking place on the exceptional level of the party and not on the level of its government apparatus. And the surface foam is formed deep down. Everything else is calculation.

Betancourt Looks at History Through Telescope

From the very first moment when, in a more or less festive act--certainly more rather than less--Betancourt used the opportunity to say that it would be necessary to give AD a few good kicks until the moment when it slipped into the crime of administrative corruption, the initiated commented: "the coup [blow] is going to be directed against Carlos Andres." Shortly thereafter, a magazine supporting the Napoleonic regime of CAP, the magazine of Jorge Olevarria, made an 180-degree turn and began to demolish the government edifice with materials collected--as rumor has it--from the CIEI [Committee Investigating the Illegal Use of Public Funds by Public Officials and Employees], through Salazar Meneses and Morillo, in the office of the comptroller through the defenders of Muci, and in the bulging files of former President Betancourt, who visited Jorge, a thief (according to the statement by Arria [?]) in the pretense of moral punishment.

CAP made, not his only mistake, but his biggest mistake, in handling this challenge from Betancourt. In a rather provocative fashion, he kept the former AD members, whom the old boss hated, in the highest positions. He did so in the case of Manzo Gonzalez, Gumersindo Rodriguez, Escobar Salom, in spite of the fact that the latter, at the very last moment, reasons known only to himself, left him as an ordinary citizen in Asiqueis, after having landed in Warsaw as foreign minister. Months afterward,

Escovar, already in retirement, made fun of CAP in symbolical articles in EL NACIONAL and in little jokes full of huckster charm. Carlos Andres, with the kind of sudden moves only he can make, supposedly looked funny under the onion-shaped spires of the Kremlin, in the offices of the astute Bruno Kreisky, and during the formal luncheon with Lord Callaghan. In spite of that--and to the shock of some of his domestic enemies--Carlos Andres during that trip gave the AD international social-democratic standing as a party which, by individual decision of RB [Romulo Betancourt] had been founded without any kind of link of any international type, neither communist, nor socialist. I repeat: nor socialist!

Where They Talk of Oligopolies and the New Bourgeoisie

But it was not enough for CAP to carry these tainted AD members along with him, as well as others, such as Jesus R. Carmona, the legal adviser of Miraflores, up to the pinnacles of power, without placing on board, as stowaways, former communists, such as Alvarez Dominguez, who reported the case of the Cariven ships and who at the same time was denounced in the case of the "Sierra Nevada"--the floating refrigeration warehouse-palace; and he attracted to his side, by calling upon them to advise him, the members of the aggressive and banking big bourgeoisie, such as Lauria and Tinoco, the development-oriented and gentlemanly technocracy in the person of Arria, and the new ones--some of them perhaps not as new as all that--whom Pinerua, in his famous speech in the senate, described as the Twelve Apostles, whose enterprises were proliferating at an even faster rate than during the term of Caldera, although this time with theses formulated officially. In effect, CAP asserted that it would be necessary to do away with the oligopolies and he was, without euphemisms, talking about the businessmen, the financiers, and bankers who turned up in the book by Domingo Alberto Rangel, entitled "La oligarquia del dinero" [The Oligarchy of Money], in the writings of Francisco Mieros, and in the business records of yesteryear.

CAP however went even further in his challenge to the aseptic boss. As theoreticians he picked up figures of the stature of Morales Ballo and Ciliberto. Against them, as well as against Mr Gummer--the name amused him no less than Luis Esteban Rey--launched his anathema of the olyhedron, during the meeting of the women, and against them and others mentioned before, and CAP himself directed the accolade which he gave Pinerua Ordaz, on the party's anniversary, assuring him that he, LPO, was indeed a man to be trusted because of his honesty. Simultaneously, he, who would be a candidate, following the elimination of Lusinchi through Betancourism, announced a body of laws which would save the country from corruption, malfeasance, embezzlement and bribery.

Those laws--even after the end of the debate on the "Sierra Nevada," would continue to be bills because in Venezuela, according to a great essayist,

that which is good is larval while that which is bad is organic, solid, and mature.

A President for the Boom

Did Betancourt get really angry only because CAP mounted an offensive to get the former AD people and the old rebels back? No. When he was working hard in support of CAP's candidacy, Betancourt himself talked to various former members and convinced them that, once an AD member, always an AD member. But something else was rotten in AD.

What was it? The acts of boldness, intemperance, sudden starts, and the incredible forgetfulness of the past which CAP displayed during his 5-year term. He started Third World fires in the United Nations, he challenged the presidents and secretaries of the United States, he hobnobbed with Brezhnev, he received a present from Fidel Castro--with whose regime he established relations--he was friendly with the Peruvian military, he had a meeting with Torrijos, not only to get a list of the business deals of Occidental Petroleum, but also to settle the matter of the canal and the future of Nicaragua, he financed former guerilla fighters, and he even looked kindly upon Pro-Venezuela supporting the youth group trip with Hector Alonso Lopez, to the Havana festival. But that was the last straw.

He also hailed the communists, the MAS [Movement for Socialism] people and the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] people, involved in the past insurrection, as if they were college chums at Rubio, or, for that matter, he replaced Coronil Hartman at the CVF [Venezuelan Development Corporation] after notifying Alvarez Dominguez.

But, beyond these shocking steps, the straw that really broke the camel's back was the presidential candidacy when Betancourt sponsored Pinerua. Perez wanted to have Lusinchi and, in the end, recalling the fiasco of Caldera with Fernandez and after gauging his old boss' strategy, he opted for once again shuffling the cards. That hurt Lusinchi.

Alignments Are Not Alienations

This went so far that, when the combined Betancourt-Social Christian Party offensive began in 1979, following the AD defeat, Lusinchi made a tremendous effort in order not to be fully identified with CAP whom, irremediably, he considered to be ready for the scaffold. First there was the matter of the frigates, a debate which Petkoff wanted to postpone and which did not turn out as had been hoped because Paredes Bello continued in his job as minister; then came the triple affair of Nishous-pacification-Castro Hurtado; and then, finally, came the nefarious case of the "Sierra Nevada," which was put up for public discussion by Dr Leopoldo Diaz Bruzual,

the cousin of Remberto Uzcategui, an expert investigator of whom it is said that he managed to gather mountains of data on the former and other cases in international organizations which are not exactly the United Nations.

Reservations in the "Abyss Hotel"

The Ethics Committee of AD in October of last year outlined the pattern of Venezuelan politics in 1980. Made up of a majority loyal to Betancourt, its decision left the way open for a judgment--which I believe is fundamentally political because if it were otherwise, heads would roll by the thousands--in the heat of the disclosures about the "Sierra Nevada" and the presumed or real pharaonic life of CAP's clan.

At the last moment, the Labor Union Bureau, in exerting pressure to get Izaguirre out of the secretariat-general, caused an upset in the congressional affair. Was this a calculated risk? That may be. But the Labor Union Bureau was not born yesterday; in 1962-1963, when it forced the Leoni candidacy through, over the opinion of President Betancourt, the latter was no longer the unchallenged chief of yesterday. Once again it would be necessary to put him in; this was not a confrontation with just any apparatus man but with a former president, such as he, a man as smart as he, a man as bold as he, and a man whom it knew as well as it could.

In addition, AD is not the organizational structure it was in the old days, with well-distributed and completely obedient officers and tribes. AD is broken up and demoralized and even leaderless. This is what is being said even by those who want this split even though they say that they are not providing any impetus for it: we have no chiefs.

And that is the truth. Following the departure of Betancourt and CAP, the other chief would be that fine intellectual by the name of Gonzalo Barrios. But the fear of a split paralyzes him and he is today between heaven and earth, flying far above the crisis, in the hope that the 22 April CEN [National Executive Committee] would not be the apocalyptic "every man for himself" for the party.

5058

CSO: 3010

LAKE MARACAIBO AREA FIELDS REACTIVATED, EXPANDED

Medium Crude Fields Expanded

Caracas EL UNIVERSAL in Spanish 25 Apr 80 Sec 2 p 5

[Text] The Barua-Motatan fields (in the states of Zulia and Trujillo), operated by Maraven S.A., an affiliate of Venezuelan Petroleum, Incorporated, will produce 50,000 barrels per day of medium crude upon completion of their installation expansion program which was started recently.

This new output--the current average output of the fields is 15,000 barrels per day--will be feasible from the first quarter of 1982 onward, when construction of a collecting station and three compressor plants will be completed.

Two of the compressor plants were designed to improve the petroleum output through artificial pumping while the remainder will be used to re-inject gas into the deposits.

Artificial lifting [pumping] is the procedure used in facilitating the rise of the petroleum to the surface, when "the pressure of a deposit decreases to the point where it is no longer sufficient to have the wells produce by themselves."

Reinjection of gas into the deposits is designed to maintain the pressure in the formation and to maximize the recovery of crude.

Company technicians feel that the future of the Barua-Motatan fields is promising.

"We have a deposit of large proportions here," they indicated according to the geological estimates.

In recent years, the company made significant discoveries in the central area of the Barua-Motatan fields; thousands of kilometers of seismic lines

have been surveyed and the advanced and exploratory drilling program has just been started.

Work in the Barua-Notatan fields "is a part of the reactivation of the entire petroleum industry aimed at finding new reserves in additional areas and in brand-new areas to meet domestic needs and to hold on to our position as petroleum exporter on the international markets."

Cabimas Reactivation Discussed

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 25 Apr 89 p D-6

[Article by Antonio Reyes: "Cabimas Well Produced 325 Million Barrels by 1973"]

[Excerpts] Maracaibo, 24 April -- The Cabimas oilfield, located on the eastern shore of Lake Maracaibo, produced 325 million barrels of petroleum by 31 December 1973; this volume might be increased with the use of modern techniques, according to informed sources at Maraven.

These encouraging figures moreover constitute a new era in the history of the country's principal national source of wealth; they have caused the men who manage the destiny of the country's production to reflect deeply as to the truth of the statement attributed to Arturo Uslar Pietri, according to which Venezuela must "save petroleum"; it would do no harm for us to think a little bit about the deplorable conditions of the main population centers along the eastern shore of the lake.

Minister Calderon Bertl himself submitted a report to the Bicameral Energy and Mining Committee of the National Congress, stating that the subsoil of Cabimas and other towns along the eastern shore of the lake contains petroleum worth more than 300 million bolivars."

This wealth brings up the priority question of the need for reorganizing urban growth as experienced in these regions; this was also brought up by sectors representing the eastern shore of the lake.

More recently, Dr. Emilio Moreno Peinado, chief of CORDIPLAN [Office of Coordination and Planning], during an open meeting held in the Lagunillas town hall, delivered a lecture on "Urban Development and Petroleum" in the course of which he presented the elements of judgment which should be taken into account in contemplating an urban policy that would be in line with conditions prevailing in the region.

Cabimas Field

Because of the increase in petroleum prices and the rise in the energy crisis in 1972 and 1973, 33 wells were repaired; as of December 1973, 2,500 barrels per day were taken out of those wells; this increased the field's output to 7,000 barrels per day.

The results of the repairs, according to Borregales Loaiza, in his report, indicate that the repair work in this field is economically profitable and that this is the best place to make repairs west of the main fault where in general it is possible to include new areas for exploitation.

It is estimated that, if the inactive wells--which have a potential of more than 35 barrels per day--were to be repaired, it would be possible to increase the field's total output up to 11,000 barrels per day.

"The field basically consists of three deposits, Eocene B-6, with a proven area of 25 acres and 9,360,000 barrels of petroleum in situ; Eocene B-1, with 529 acres of proven area and 26,925,000 barrels of petroleum in situ; and post-Eocene, with 12,792 acres of proven area and 1,896,765,000 barrels of petroleum in situ."

Prospects

The fact that there are big petroleum deposits in the subsoil of Cabimas and adjacent areas opens up new prospects in the economic field and provides a certain solidity for the recently created subregion. However, this creates a problem whose solution calls for a careful analysis of the situation. There is no doubt that if Venezuela quickly decides to start exploration and exploitation work in the subsoil of the regions containing the "black gold," it will be necessary to relocate the people living there and that in turn would require urban planning in keeping with the most modern concepts; this thing cannot be handled in a superficial manner, the way so many things have been done in this country. Cabimas and the other zones included in this area of national resources call for compensation in all respects, in other words, "petroleum sowing" must take place in the entire prodigious territory.

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CALDERON GUARANTEES 10 BILLION BOLIVARS IN ADDITIONAL OIL REVENUE

Caracas EL UNIVERSAL in Spanish 24 Apr 80 Sec 1 p 17

[Article by Elena Block: 'Mining Minister Approved 10 Billion in Additional Revenues']

[Text] This was done in the Congressional Energy and Mining Committee which provided a "safety margin" of 250,000 barrels per day. He assumed responsibility for that figure and added that it is not a good idea to estimate an additional money allocation; instead it is necessary to proceed with caution on this matter so that the petroleum industry may operate calmly and without "emergencies." In spite of this note of caution, the costs and expenses of the petroleum operating companies have gone up and the minister blamed that on "inflation" and increased personnel hiring. "Right now, conditions are equal in terms of contracts with industrialized countries and they involve no commitment on our part," he said.

Additional revenues of no less than 10 billion bolivars were approved yesterday by the minister of energy and mining.

Humberto Calderon Berti assumed responsibility for these revenues which are to come from petroleum when he visited the Bicameral Energy and Mining Committee of the Congress of the Republic.

There had been a certain amount of concern in that committee since it had been speculated that the amount of those revenues would be less than announced several days ago by the minister. The drop in prices of residuals and in petroleum output this year may be the reason for this statement.

"The Venezuelan petroleum industry guarantees the country an income of no less than 10 billion bolivars in an amount that goes to the national treasury. We have a safety margin of 250,000 barrels per day and that did

not permit us to lower this income ceiling. This is something which we had anticipated and I assumed responsibility for this output," said Calderon Berti.

He then explained that there is even a possibility that this amount might be exceeded during the year since the problem situation involving the countries of the Middle East and the possible petroleum price increase might produce a rise in terms of additional revenues. "But we do not want to expect any further money for this year, nor does it seem advisable for us to count on that. We have to be very cautious in handling these statistics and there is a lot of perception behind those figures. Otherwise, we cannot operate with the necessary flexibility because we would find ourselves forced to do something which we cannot accomplish. On the other hand we will in this fashion have sufficient flexibility so that we will be able to attain the target of 2.2 million barrels which we hope to achieve this year," the minister also commented.

Calderon Berti completed his explanation by saying that the petroleum industry must operate "in a comfortable fashion" and this is why it is necessary to proceed with "caution" in the matter of additional revenues. "Although the output may drop to 1.9 billion barrels and although we may be exporting less, I can assure you that we will have this additional income. The existence of this safety margin of 250,000 barrels will enable us to make sure," he emphasized.

"Caution" Does Not Jibe With Heavy Cost

From the moment the minister of mining explained to the finance committee that the additional revenues would be the ones he is now ratifying, there was a certain amount of confusion among the members of parliament who listened for several days to the annual activity report presented by that ministry. The amount of costs and expenditures for energy and mining went up considerably and this does not appear to be congruent with this "cautionary" note which the minister has introduced. Most of the members of parliament, who attended yesterday's meeting in the energy and mining committee, agreed on that. Abdon Vivas Teran and Octavio Lepage were the ones who raised the problems.

Vivas Teran said, in addressing his questions to the minister, that the costs and expenditures of the petroleum industry had gone up 3.094 billion bolivars a figure which shortly will be increased by 1 billion bolivars and that likewise will lead to an increase in those expenditures."

With respect to the increase in profits of the oil companies, which are not in line with the "austerity" policy of the ministry, he made it clear that a part of that income consists of the "safety margin for this year."

Technology and Sales Contracts

Calderon Berti then explained the technology contracts which, according to him, are now very beneficial to the country: the elimination of the confidential clause; the reduction of the contract duration to 1 year; the fact that the foreign enterprises are not guaranteed a supply of petroleum; and above all the increase in profits for the government and the reduction in profits for the enterprises. In 1978, their profits came to 796 billion bolivars. For 1979, a figure of 379 billion was estimated, giving the country 90 billion more.

As for the sales agreements, the most important thing here is that there has been a diversification of enterprises with which contracts are signed. At the time of nationalization, we only had the traditional oil companies and they held 80 percent of the contracts. Today, 50 percent go to them and the other 50 percent are for new companies with which Venezuela has proposed to trade. "Small companies with their own machinery and refining facilities," he added.

Calderon Berti then talked about the contract with the United States regarding cooperation in the petroleum area, involving solar, nuclear, and geothermal energy and petroleum technology. "This contract guarantees absolute equality for both countries and, moreover, there is no commitment to that country. The new contract will never commit Venezuela to supply petroleum to that country, nor to give any favors of any type."

He then talked about the possibility of installing refineries for heavy crude in other countries, in conjunction with enterprises in those countries. Regarding France, participation in an enterprise of this type by Venezuela is now being considered.

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